

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

PUSA







Vol. III, No. 1.

April, 1934.

# JOURNAL

OF THE

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ANNAMALAINAGAR

1934.



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# JOURNAL

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VOL. III.

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## Some Aspects of Romantic Poetry and the New Psychology

By

A. MENDELOFF AND S. P. RAGLAND.

(*Annamalai University*)

'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God.'

Early and wide-spread belief attributes a cosmic power to the word, the divine Logos. This representation of the inner mystery of life in a fixed external form was considered the supreme creative act upon which the world was based. The Kabbalistic 'Book of creation' (Sepher Yetsirah), the doctrine of Sphota and the opening verses of the Gospel of St. John suggest that there is a common basis in the mind for such a belief. Poetry as the most significant combination of the most powerful words partakes of the nature of the Word, and originally had a magic value which remains even in later poetry;<sup>1</sup> indeed it was at first almost coterminous with religion, as the term *vates* suggests, and with magic. In this sense poetry is but an extension of the Word; and the significance of the early charms and possibly of the nonsensical refrains in the earlier ballads, like that of 'abracadabra' or 'AUM,' becomes obvious. If poetry has not literally made the world, as the ancients believed, it has done so in another sense; the poet is the 'maker'

1. e.g. Peele's lyric in 'David and Bethsebe.'



(as he was called in Scotland<sup>2</sup> and as the word itself etymologically suggests) of a new world refashioned 'nearer to the heart's desire.'

I had a world about me—'twas my own ;  
I made it, for it only lived to me.

*Prel. III. 141-2.*

It is not the poet alone who makes ; he is but the highest example of the universal tendency to create a world of phantasy. His product is a personal creation while the race expresses itself collectively in mythology and legend or individually in day-dreams which no less than nocturnal dreams are indications of the activity of the unconscious. The study of the different levels of the unconscious may well throw valuable light, therefore, on the nature and understanding of poetry. As Montmasson shows in his 'Invention and the Unconscious,' the creative invention as distinct from construction is clearly the work of the unconscious. "The consciousness of the genius is freely open to the promptings and suggestions of the unconscious while the normal person as Freud has shown erects an almost impenetrable barrier which represses all material which does not conform to a certain specification." This explains why highly originaive types are generally abnormal and not far removed from psychopaths as Lombroso and others have proved.

The nocturnal dream, the day-dream and the creative process of poetry are fundamentally similar in that they are the outcome of the same psychic energy, subjected to a similar mechanism, based on similar material and subserving the same ends. In the play of the child and the myth-making of the savage these same laws are at work, as Shelley recognised more than a century ago.<sup>3</sup> The old daimonic theory of possession considered the spark of inspiration as coming from without, from the Gods. It is now recognised that the springs of inspiration arise from the lower levels of the mind beyond the threshold of the conscious. These levels range from the deepest strata of the unconscious, which regress to the earliest experiences both of the individual and the race in a repressed form and even according to Rank back to the trauma of birth, through the foreconscious, to the conscious levels of the psyche. 'The mind may be regarded as composed of a number of levels or strata comparable with levels of neurological activity—the deeper the sleep the larger the number of levels which are put out of activity and the lower the level which finds expression. The dreams of deep sleep . . .

2. cf. Old English *scop*. 'Creator.'

3. Shelley, 'Defence of Poetry.'

will reveal infantile modes of thinking, feeling or acting ; dreams of less deep sleep . . . will express modes of mental functioning proper to childhood or youth ; while dreams of very light sleep will have a character but little different from that of ordinary mental activities of waking life.<sup>4</sup> These distinctions apply equally to different kinds of poetry, as the old arguments on the difference between fancy and imagination, talent and genius, which preoccupied the romantic critics show.

The energy involved in dreaming, autistic thinking and art derive from the psychic energy which is part of the vital energy or 'libido' and is subject to the same principles of 'conservation of energy' and 'entropy' as physical energy.<sup>5</sup> As Spearman says : 'The mind acts as if it disposed of a fixed amount of general energy' and 'can be regarded as keeping its total output constant in quantity however varying in quality.'<sup>6</sup> According to Freud's reductive method to the prime source which is always sex, art, like all other forms of mental activity is the surrogate of the repressed sex-instinct which, being dammed by the censor is forced in a disguised form into different channels by the process of sublimation. Rank maintains that 'the art-creation of ideal values, of phantastic superstructure, is created from the remains of primal libido unsatisfied in real creation' and has as its final aim the re-establishment of the intrauterine primal pleasure.<sup>7</sup> Conversely, Jung's concept of finality looks at the *product* of the creative process and seeks to explain it by the transference of energy for its purpose from the instinct by the analogical evocation of that instinct, the extensity factor of energy bringing with the transferred energy traces of the instinctive structure it was originally connected with.<sup>8</sup> The energy thus available for creative purposes expresses itself according to Freud in the attempt to free oneself from the demands of one's complexes by wish fulfilment, regulated by the pleasure and reality principles, in phantasy, the purpose of which may be obscured by the symbolic disguise necessitated by the moral influence of environment. Combinations of immediate and linked associations which produce the 'manifest content' are adapted to this fundamental need which is the 'latent content.' Regression to infantilism is a vital element in the process. "Just as in abnormal perception the

4. Rivers : 'Conflict and Dream,' p. 90.

5. See Jung : Contributions to Analytical Psychology, pp. 17 passim. For an attack on all these theories of mental energy see Fox. 'The Mind and its Body,' ch. 7.

6. Spearman : 'Creative Mind' pp. 27—28.

7. O. Rank 'Trauma of Birth' p. 190 cf. Freud. 'Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis,' p. 71.

8. Jung. Ibid. p. 47 passim.

affect emphasises the intellectual element that corresponds to the emotional complex lurking in the background and sets it off among the others, the wish extracts from the store of memory and revives those remembrances that may be suitable for its purpose.”<sup>9</sup> The four main processes of the ‘dream-work’ are ‘condensation’ (this is the basis of W. Empson’s ‘Seven Types of Ambiguity’) whereby a single image does duty for a number of linked emotional experiences; ‘displacement’; ‘plastic representation’ (by symbolism and dramatisation) and ‘secondary elaboration.’

To Adler all creation is a manifestation of a compensatory attempt to free oneself from a feeling of inferiority in order to gain a feeling of superiority by means of phantasy.<sup>10</sup> Jung concerns himself rather with the attitude to the sex instinct and the will to power, an attitude which varies according as to whether one belongs to one or other of the basic types, namely, the active or passive introvert and extravert types, each of which may be further divided into thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition function types.<sup>11</sup> He conceives of the mind as a palimpsest from which none of the writings have been quite erased. The unconscious ‘contains in a concentrated form the entire succession of engrams (imprints)<sup>12</sup> which from time immemorial have determined the psychic structure as it now exists. These engrams may be regarded as function-traces which typify, on the average, the most frequently and intensely used functions of the human soul. The function-engrams present themselves in the form of mythological themes and images, appearing in identical form and always with striking similarity among all races; they can also be easily verified in the unconscious material of modern man.’<sup>13</sup> The instincts themselves are archetypes in the deeper supra-personal

9. Varendonck. ‘The Psychology of Day-dreams’ p. 253.

10. Adler. ‘Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology,’ p. 23.

11. There are others who divide people and artists into biological types, the Cyclothymic and Schizothymic. See Kretschmer, ‘Physique and Character’ and Lange-Eichbaum, ‘The Problem of Genius.’ Berman’s ‘Glands Regulating Personality’ determines another theory of types by the products of the endocrine glands.

12. cf. Shelley, Preface to Prometheus Unbound: “Everyman’s mind is modified . . . . by every word and every suggestion which he ever admitted to act upon his consciousness.”

Also, ‘Essay on Christianity’: “Every human mind has its peculiar images which reside in the inner caves of thought. These constitute the essential and distinctive character of every human being to which every action and every word have intimate relation.”

13. Jung: ‘Psychological Types,’ p. 211.

layers of the unconscious.<sup>14</sup> With Rivers, most forms of creation including poetry and dreams resolve themselves into an attempted solution of a conflict. But 'while it is not possible to regard all dreams as wish-fulfilments or as successful solutions of conflicts, it is possible to bring them all into the category of regression, of throwing back in sleep to modes of mental activity and expression characteristic of earlier periods of life.'<sup>15</sup>

Each of these theories, which to some extent overlap, has been applied to poetry no less than to normal and abnormal behaviour. Thus Freud believes that poetic endeavour reflects the deepest wish of the poet. 'The artist is originally a man who turns away from reality because he cannot directly make peace with the renunciation or gratification of instinct demanded by reality and preserves his erotic and ambitious wishes in phantasy life. He finds, however, the way back from his phantasy world to reality in that, thanks to special talents, he moulds his phantasy to new kinds of realities which are allowed to pass current by people as valuable likenesses of reality.'<sup>16</sup> Thus the 'Œdipus Tyrannus' is the manifestation in phantasy of an attempt to free oneself from a complex arising from the damming up or the fixation of the sex instinct. Jones has analysed 'Hamlet' on the same principle and elsewhere suggests that all art resolves itself back to infantile coprophily. Applying his theory of centrifugal and centripetal types Jung distinguishes two general tendencies in poetry, the one where the author submits his material to a definite treatment that is both directed and purposeful, and the other where poetry is a kind of planchette writing that flows more or less spontaneous and perfect from the author's pen, when

Some lovely image in the song rose up  
Full-formed like Venus rising from the sea.<sup>17</sup>

Coleridge has anticipated these two poetic types in the contrast which he draws between Shakespeare and Milton: "While the former darts himself forth and passes into all the forms of human character and passion . . . the other attracts all forms and things to himself into the

14. Jung, 'Two Essays in Analytical Psychology,' p. 118.

15. *Op. cit.* p. 75.

16. See also Freud. *Op. cit.* p. 314.

17. See Jung, 'Contributions to Analytical Psychology' p. 235.

unity of his own Ideal." Herbert Read attempts to relate these two tendencies to classicism and romanticism, the former to the introverted attitude, the latter to the extraverted attitude.<sup>18</sup> Thus we see that all are agreed upon the identification of poetic activity with that of the unconscious and its close relationship to dream and day-dream forms.<sup>19</sup>

What every individual achieves to a lesser degree in the day-dream, the poet is able to achieve in the poem, which not only follows the same processes and serves the same purpose but even derives largely from the day-dream. Long before modern psycho-analysts had elaborated this idea Coleridge, Hazlitt and other critics had arrived at the same conclusion. 'The rich and the poor, the young and the old, all live in a world of their making and the poet does no more than describe what all others think . . . If poetry is a dream the business of life is much the same. If it is a fiction, made up what we wish things to be, and fancy that they are, because we think them so, there is no other nor better reality.'<sup>20</sup> As Varendonck puts it: 'A conscious part of their (the poets') labour consists in registering the products of their foreconscious thinking, another in applying their critical authority.'<sup>21</sup> 'On awaking from a phantasy nothing may be remembered about the castles in the air, or unimportant details may escape oblivion whilst important ones may be lost for ever. There is only one class of persons to whom this general rule is inapplicable; namely, those who make an abundant use of foreconscious processes for conscious aims such as artists and scientists . . . the highly affective life of the artist and thinker is responsible for their capacity for profiting more than does the average individual by the mental procedures of their inner selves.'<sup>22</sup> Intuition itself would seem to be an awakening from foreconscious thinking with awareness. The wish-fulfilment, regression to infantilism, compensation and symbolism that Varendonck establishes as common to autistic thinking or day-dreams and nocturnal dreams apply equally to much of poetry as may easily be seen from the study of Romantic poets. Such unusual poems as "Kubla Khan" and its polar opposites, the typical eighteenth century poems, seem to establish the truth of the contention that visualisation is predominant when the chains of thought in the foreconscious proceed

18. H. Read, 'Reason and Romanticism,' p. 103.

19. This is deliberately exploited by Surrealiste school, vide. 'This Quarter' Vol. V. No. I Surrealiste number.

20. Hazlitt, 'Lectures on English Poets.' Lec. 1.

21. Varendonck, p. 216.

22. Ibid. p. 152. cf. Freud, Introd. Lectures, p. 314.

closest to the unconscious level and verbal thoughts prevail as they proceed nearer the threshold of the conscious. This may well help to explain the poetry of verbal wit and ingenuity and that which suggests the study of the flux and reflux of the poet's inmost nature, the venturing into 'the twilight realms of consciousness' and 'the modes of inmost being to which they know that attributes of time and space are inapplicable and alien, but which yet cannot be conveyed, save in symbols of time and space.'<sup>23</sup> The difference between day-dreams and poetry is the difference between the passive and the creative imaginations, the former lacking conscious purpose and being little more than the comparatively idle play of fancy. 'Not that I always began to write with a distinct purpose formally conceived,' stated Wordsworth in his famous Preface, 'but habits of meditation have, I trust, so prompted and regulated my feelings, that my descriptions of such objects as strongly excite those feelings, will be found to carry along with them a *purpose*.' Although this purpose and directed restlessness is essential to the artist, it is only when he has achieved expression that he really sees the full purpose of his effort and discovers what were the directive forces of his action.<sup>24</sup>

When we come to examine the works and theories of individual authors, it becomes possible in part to trace the applicability of the various theories mentioned above, particularly because so many poets have left records in prose and verse of their manner of composition and the nature of their inspiration. With regard to Wordsworth a psychoanalyst would seize upon the fact that he was not always the stern preceptor of duty and austerity that he later became. Like the young Milton, Donne and Vaughan he tended indeed to the reverse.<sup>25</sup>

. . . if a throng was near  
That way I leaned by nature ; for my heart  
Was social, and loved idleness and joy.

*Prel. III. 231-3.*

The intensity of the later puritanism in each testifies to the strength of the resisting elements in their nature which held the earlier tendencies in check. The analyst would note how the strength of the young Wordsworth's emotions was sufficiently unusual to cause his family uneasiness

23. Coleridge. 'Biographia Literaria' ch. 22.

24. See S. Alexander, 'The Creative Process in the Artists Mind' British Journ. of Psych. Vol. 17 part 4 pp. 305-6, 312.

25. See D. Saurat's book on Milton for a full analysis of this factor in relation to Milton's poetry.

for his balance of mind. He would recall that he was the father of a child by Annette Vallon, an incident which appears in a disguised form in the tale of 'Vaudracour and Julia,' and the strangeness of his relations with his sister Dorothy. He might even see a significance in the poet's preoccupation with those who have lost their reason through emotional crises, which arise from his own deeply founded repressions and inner storms which troubled his soul till they found a safe outlet in his verse.<sup>26</sup>

The Poet, gentle creature as he is,  
Hath, like the Lover, his unruly times ;  
His fits when he is neither sick nor well,  
Though no distress be near him but his own  
Unmanageable thoughts : his mind, best pleased  
While she as duteous as the mother dove  
Sits brooding, lives not always to that end,  
But like the innocent bird, hath goadings on  
That drive her as in trouble through the groves ;

*Prel. I. 135-143.*

my brain  
Worked with a dim and undetermined sense  
Of unknown modes of being . . .  
But huge and mighty forms, that do not live  
Like living men, moved slowly through the mind  
By day, and were a trouble to my dreams.

*Prel. I. 391-400.*

For the literary critic it is sufficient to relate his regression to infancy,<sup>27</sup>

Those recollected hours that have the charm  
Of visionary things, those lovely forms  
And sweet sensations that throw back our life  
And almost make remotest infancy  
A visible scene, on which the sun is shining.

*Prel. I. 631-5.*

26. See also *Prel. VI. 592 passim.*

27. Note Coleridge's attack on this aspect of Wordsworth's *Verse Biog. Lit. Chap. 22*. 'There are many of us that still possess some remembrances, more or less distinct, respecting themselves at six years old ; pity that the worthless straws only should float while treasure compared with which all the mines of Golconda and Mexico were but straws, should be absorbed by some unknown gulf into some unknown abyss.'

and the cognate regression to the infancy of the race which is the basis of his primitivism, his interest in the elemental thoughts and emotions of man in his natural state. This arises from his fear of the repressive forces of society and convention which had the effect of inhibiting the natural emotions so strong in him, and it is this which induces Read to state that the greatness of Wordsworth's poetry is founded on his animal passion. Clearly indicative of repression is his marked avoidance of the sensuous aspect of love, 'a total disunion and divorce of the faculties of the mind from those of the body; the banns are forbid, or a separation is austere pronounced from bed and board—*a mensâ et thoro* . . . . If we lived by every sentiment that proceeded out of mouths, and not by bread and wine, or if the species were continued like trees (to borrow an expression from the great Sir Thomas Browne), Mr. Wordsworth's poetry would be just as good as ever.'<sup>28</sup> In his supplementary essay to the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads, he mentions the relation existing between poetry and the sex instinct and stresses its value as an escape from reality by wish-fulfilment. The idea of poetry dealing with 'emotion recollected in tranquillity' strongly suggests the secondary elaboration element in dream mechanism.

Shelley, too, conceives of poetry as arising from a part of the mind 'beyond and above consciousness,' and expressing more than the poet himself knows. He seems vaguely to suggest the idea of sublimation when he says that 'its secret alchemy turns to potable gold the poisonous waters which flow from death through life' and that it 'transmutes what is most deformed to the beautiful incarnation of the spirit which it breathes.' To him words and form are the accidental vesture which the formless spirit or energy assumes from whatever associations and materials lie at hand. He notes particularly the spasmodic ebb and flow of inspiration and attention which psychologists have since established,<sup>29</sup> and he implies the idea of secondary elaboration in referring to the 'artificial connection of the spaces between the suggestions of the inspired moments by the intertexture of conventional expressions, a necessity only imposed by the limitedness of the poetic faculty itself.' One idea which resembles Jung's definition of the extravert and would seem to substantiate Read's contention occurs in his belief that the spring of poetry is love, 'or a going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought.

28. Hazlitt, *Op. cit.* Ch. 7.

29. See Sonnenschein, 'Rhythm' on the effect of discontinuity of impression on rhythm.



action or person not our own.' Keats and Coleridge have given expression to the very same idea.

The poem of Keats which has aroused greatest controversy is his 'Endymion.' It is only comparatively recently that any significance has been attached to it beyond that of an old myth treated in a muddled and semi-meaningless fashion. Of late, however, there have been a few interpretations differing widely from one another. It is on such artistic problems that psycho-analysis may throw some light. One thing is generally accepted, that the poem has a meaning beyond the mere story, and that it treats symbolically of the poet's attitude to life in some measure at least. Keats himself wrote of the poem in a letter: "I assure you that when I wrote it it was a regular stepping of the Imagination towards a Truth." We may at the outset forestall any objection that we are treating 'Endymion' as a work of morbid imagination by recalling that Keats himself in his introduction recognized it as such, and apart from his explicit statement there his strange state of mind can be evidenced from his letters at the time. The poem follows the dream form, and certainly expresses more than he was consciously aware at the time. There is some significance, although a more detailed analysis is unnecessary here, in his abnormal attachment to his brothers ("the thought of them has always stifled the impression that any woman might otherwise have made upon me") and to his sister-in-law Georgiana whom he said he loved more than any other woman in the world and whose identity pressed upon him and obsessed him (letters 89 and 93); his abnormal attitude to women and marriage (letters 75 and 89); his disease and fear of death. It is sufficient to appreciate the great part these factors played in the formation of repressions and complexes for which he had recourse to 'the feverish relief of poetry,' (letter 89). Nor is there any need to probe too deeply into the symbolic significance of his setting, attaching a Freudian significance to his preoccupation with imaginary landscapes and caves. Leaving aside therefore such problems as transferred mother fixation, etc., for general artistic purposes it is sufficient to realise that the latent content of the poem broadly resolves itself into the problem of his attitude to womanhood which had been preoccupying him since boyhood. 'I am certain I have not a right feeling towards women,' he wrote (letter 75), 'at this moment I am striving to be just to them, but I cannot . . . Is it because they fall so far beneath my boyish imagination? When I was a schoolboy, I thought a fair Woman a pure Goddess; my mind was a soft nest in which some one of them slept, though she knew it not—I have no right to expect more than their reality. I thought them ethereal, above Men—I find them perhaps equal—great by comparison is very small. Insult may

be inflicted in more ways than by word or action—one who is tender of being insulted does not like to think and insult against another. I do not like to think insults in a Lady's company—I commit a crime with her which absence would have not known . . . When I am among Women I have evil thoughts, malice, spleen—I cannot speak or be silent—I am full of suspicions and therefore listen to nothing—I am in a hurry to be gone—You must be charitable and put all this perversity to my being disappointed since Boyhood . . . I must absolutely get over this—but how? The only way is to find the root of evil, and so cure it . . . that is a difficult thing; for an obstinate prejudice can seldom be produced but from a gordian complication of feelings, which must take time to unravel and care to keep unravelled.'

Womankind is symbolised by the moon of which Cynthia is the incarnation. It is likely that underlying the conception of Cynthia is Georgiana, ('the Moon is now shining full and brilliant—she is the same to me in Matter, what you are to me in Spirit . . . I have a tenderness for you and an admiration which I feel to be as great and more chaste than I can have for any woman in the world.' letter 89.), and by a disjunctive process common in dreams, one aspect of her is split off and personified in the shape of Peona whose advice to Endymion is similar to the advice of Georgiana on settling down and marrying. This explains the large erotic element in the situations and imagery of the poem, and it may be noted how some of it attaches even to Peona.

The journey in the Underworld and under the sea represents his attempt to attack the root of the problem by freeing himself from his complexes and repressions, thereby becoming more balanced in his outlook. Alpheus and Arethusa represent love that has been repressed by Diana, goddess of chastity, who has transformed them and caused them both the deepest unhappiness. Endymion prays to the gods for their liberation and freedom to love, and in the episode of Glaucus accomplishes the act of liberation himself, forfeiting his own life should he refuse to do so.

. . . the youth elect  
Must do the thing or both will be destroyed.

Glaucus is another representation in a dramatised form of Endymion. Glaucus says:

I knew thine inmost bosom and I feel  
A very brother's yearning for thee steal  
Into mine own.

and later Endymion cries :

We are twin brothers in this destiny.

The love of Glaucus for Scylla is hindered by the baneful power of Circe, the transformer of lovers into animals. Like the Freudian Censor she represses and disguises the socially unacceptable instincts into ugly and painful complexes. One condition of Glaucus's freedom from her power is that he should explore

. . . all forms and substances  
Straight homeward to their symbol-essences.

Unless Endymion liberates him and with him all the other lovers, they will die. The puzzling episode of the Indian maid in the fourth book which is the only completely unmythological main episode in the poem signifies Keats's attempt to understand the real woman as she is and reconcile her with the idealised conception he had had hitherto. Immediately before he wrote this fourth book he had his first sexual experience at Oxford and the conflict of the desire for physical love with his idealised phantasy of woman is shown in this passage :

I have a triple soul. O fond pretence—  
For both, for both my love is so immense  
I feel my heart is cut in twain for them.

He can neither forget the one nor resist the other. The incident of the subsequent ride through the air with the Indian maid scarcely needs interpretation being one of the commonest sexual symbols in dreams. The reaction which follows this contact with reality is the renunciation by Endymion of both the ideal and the reality. He proposes at first to retire into solitude as a hermit, but this repulsion is only temporary and he soon realises how the two merge and become one. So much for the basic forces at work that provide the energy for the poem. However, as Jung says, this kind of analysis is merely the soil from which the plant springs. It is necessary to go further than the general antecedents and see how these forces have been used to express the artistic need of the poet.

In Keats's life his sex impulses were largely sublimated into the channels of poetic creation. 'I suffer greatly by going into parties where from the rules of society and a natural pride I am obliged to smother my spirit and look like an Idiot—because I feel my impulses given way to would too much amaze them—I live under an everlasting restraint—

never relieved except when I am composing." (letter 93). His desire for poetic immortality was almost an obsession with him. In the higher levels of the unconscious therefore the poem deals with the search of a poet for the ideal beauty (the moon), the necessity for investigating the conditions of his art and understanding his own mind if he is to achieve that ideal.

He ne'er is crown'd  
With immortality, who fears to follow  
Where airy voices lead : so through the hollow  
The silent mysteries of earth, descend !"

Success ends the apparent conflict of this introversion with the extraverted necessity for achieving contact with the reality and understanding the world and human life in relation to the artist and his art, and achieves the final reconciliation of these two aspects. One of his morbid anxieties was his fear of death before his aim was achieved—a fear which finds pathetic expression in his sonnet.

When I have fears that I may cease to be.

in 'Sleep and Poetry' and many letters. This fear was inhibiting his creative power and paralysing his inspiration and constituted a problem that Keats had to face in the course of his investigation. The message on the magic scroll of Glaucus suggests that this fear will vanish if he does not brood on it but steadfastly keeps his eyes on his artistic ideals. The choice of a theme based on mythology arises naturally from the search for the perfect equilibrium of the introverted and extraverted tendencies which rise as we have mentioned from the collective unconscious which forms the lowest levels of the individual psyche, for, individual poetry and mythology which deals with the problems of the young race are philogenetically related. Endymion, Cynthia and the Indian Maid would therefore assume the significance of archetypes according to Jung's 'Psychological Types.'

Shelley's 'Alastor' and 'Prometheus Unbound' lend themselves to a similar treatment. 'Alastor' for example, allows of the two interpretations we found possible in 'Endymion': one from the reductive point of view of morbid psychology, that is, of the repressions from which the energy is directed into phantasy structures; the other, from the final point of view of the way in which this energy has been directed for artistic purposes. According to the first it is significant how strongly a tendency to narcissism manifests itself in the poem finally causing the

poet's destruction. We know that narcissism and paranoia from which Shelley intermittently suffered are closely associated with homosexuality when it is not overt but repressed.<sup>30</sup> The poet of the poem tries to plumb the depths of his being in an effort to free himself from the inner conflicts which numb his life, and seeks to achieve the satisfaction which his starved soul requires from within himself instead of directing his interest outside himself. On a higher plane we see the quest of a poet for his ideal which has appeared to him in a dramatized form in a vision and which he pursues through strange lands, thus showing a striking similarity with 'Endymion.' He, however, is unable to bridge the gap between his ideal and reality and cannot find the reconciling symbol. The doom which Endymion so triumphantly avoids is visited upon Shelley's poet. The characteristics of Schizophrenia are strongly marked in the poet whose mentality has been split off into different parts, so that his life is spent partly in a world of morbid imaginings caused by a perverted attitude, partly in the real world, the two lives simultaneously existing side by side.<sup>31</sup> He is so absorbed in his ideal that he does not notice the adoration of the Arab maid, let alone yield to her charms as Endymion did. His mood is Shelley's own :

I loved—O no, I mean not one of ye,  
Or any earthly one, though we are dear  
As human heart to human heart may be ;—  
I loved, I know not what—but this low sphere,  
And all that it contains, contains not thee,  
Thou, whom seen nowhere, I feel everywhere.

*The Zucca.*

'Prometheus Unbound' very easily lends itself to the type of analysis that Jung has adopted with regard to Spitteler's 'Prometheus and Epimetheus'—the conflict between the introvert and extravert elements in man.

The tendency to escape from reality is strongly marked in another morbid schizophrenic poet—Byron, whose life shows an abnormally acute conflict between his 'censor' ('after all is said I do believe') and his sex repressions, and from this dislocation of his Ego he tried to seek

30. See Barnefield and Carpenter : 'Psychology of the Poet Shelley.'

31. See Lange-Eichbaum. 'The Problem of Genius.' pp. 108—9.

consolation in poetry. 'Poetry is the volcano whose eruption prevents an earthquake,' he wrote.

Think and endure and form an inner world  
In your own bosom where the outward fails.  
So shall you nearer be the spiritual  
Nature and war triumphant with your own.

(*Cain*)

Adler's theory seems particularly applicable to Byron. Much of his life and poetry is an attempt to compensate for his physical defect to which he was morbidly sensitive. His sadism and his relations with Augusta Leigh and Lady Byron are in some measure attempts to revenge himself upon society and life in general. Byron's psychology, however, has been dealt with by too many other writers to require elaboration here.<sup>32</sup>

There are many other outstanding problems in poetry which psycho-analysis can help to explain, such as, the prevalence and significance of the dream motif so common in mediaeval poetry and in much of later poetry as for example, Shelley's 'The Question,' Keats's 'La Belle dame sans Merci' and Rossetti's 'Blessed Damozel'; the significance of the same, monotonously recurrent imagery in certain poets such as Shelley's favourite eagle and snake, and his water reflections; and also such obviously symbolic poems as Blake's 'Crystal Cabinet' and 'Myrtle Tree.' Much light can also be thrown upon the mystical works of such writers as Thompson in 'The Hound of Heaven' and Crashaw's religious poetry. It must be emphasised that poetry is not to be regarded as a superficial ornament, a luxury of life, but as expression forced out of the deepest needs of the individual and of society. Its appreciation therefore is not a mark of dilettantism, but is necessary for any attempt to understand the fundamental problems of life. It is in this sense that the poet is one of the most important members of society and it is for this reason that poetry can never go out of fashion. It is not to be compared with a commercial commodity that can be over-produced. So long as life holds problems, so long must poetry attempt to solve or at least to express them. The poet's is the voice that speaks for all humanity and gives outward shape to the desires and needs that every human being feels. As A. Huxley says in his 'Texts and Pretexts': 'The people who have understood most have been endowed with a gift of telling what

32. Particularly DuBos: 'Byron and the need for Fatality,' See also Mario Praz. 'The Romantic Agony' pp. 14, 71.

they understood. I doubt if there have been many Miltons who remained mute and inglorious.' It is not true that there are many poets 'wanting the accomplishment of verse.' We have been eclectic in our application of psycho-analytical theories; but we have tried wherever possible to consider not the points of difference between these theories, but to apply to poetry the ideas they hold in common.

Fanatics have their dreams, wherewith they weave  
A paradise for a sect; the savage, too,  
From forth the loftiest fashion of his sleep  
Guesses at heaven; pity these have not  
Traced upon vellum or wild Indian leaf  
The shadows of melodious utterance,  
But bare of laurel, they live, dream, and die;  
For Poesy alone can tell her dreams,—  
With the fine spell of words alone can save  
Imagination from the sable chain  
And dumb enchantment. Who alive can say,  
'Thou art no Poet—may'st not tell thy dreams?'  
Since every man whose soul is not a clod  
Hath visions . . .

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# Vedānta on Freedom and Moral Responsibility

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The problem of freedom and moral responsibility is one of the principal issues of philosophy as applied to the facts of human life. Kant recognised the importance of the inquiry into human freedom and included freedom with immortality and the existence of God in his list of unprovable but indispensable postulates of ethics. The great moralists, both in the ancient and the modern world, have sought an answer to the question: Are what we call our acts truly ours or are we really automata impelled by external circumstances and forces? In our own time, the enormous development of mechanical physical science has pushed the problem to the forefront. Scientists and philosophers alike have to face the question—Can the principle of rigid causal determination found so serviceable to physical science be extended to the sphere of human actions? Such an extension would make all psychical events the inevitable outcome of antecedent conditions over which we have no control. Our consciousness of freedom of choice between various alternatives would be illusory. Though we may will to do this or that, our choice would be determined by motives and conditions like other physical events. Our decision to follow any course of conduct would be a mere link in the causal mechanical chain. So long as our actions are at the mercy of forces not ourselves, we are not accountable for our deeds. Moral censure and approval are unmeaning and morality an empty dream. Persons interested in the facts of moral life have objected to the extension of the principle of mechanical determination to human conduct, and postulated a 'free will of indifference' inherent in human nature. In trying to escape from thralldom to mathematical laws, they virtually deny any rational connection between human actions. Defenders of human freedom have welcomed Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminacy and have sought to rescue free will in man by pointing out that when the behaviour of atoms is not completely determined, the behaviour of man must be even less rigidly conditioned. It is doubtful if freedom in the sense of unmotivated conduct, even if established, is morally desirable. This view introduces a capricious element in the orderly process of the universe. The arguments by which these rival theories known respectively as Determinism and Indeterminism have



been defended and the difficulties involved in either position are known to every student of philosophy. The object of this paper is to examine the solution of this everlasting controversy offered by Bādarāyana in his Vedāntasūtras. Is the individual soul an agent? In what sense is he free? Does he, in any true sense, direct his actions? These questions are dealt with in the Karṭradhikaraṇa and Parāyattādhikaraṇa in chapter II, part 3 of the Brahmasūtras. The Sūtrakāra's views have been interpreted variously by different exponents of Vedānta philosophy. This paper gives a brief exposition of the views of Śaṅkara, Vallabha, Srikanta and Rāmānuja. The special emphasis is on Rāmānuja's view.

### ŚAṅKARA

It is only on the assumption that the individual soul is an agent that the injunctions of scripture, such as yajeta (He is to sacrifice), juhuyāt (He is to make the oblation in the fire), etc., acquire a meaning.<sup>1</sup> The vedic mandates cannot be addressed to those who are devoid of agency. The scripture actually describes the jiva as seer, hearer, perceiver and agent.<sup>2</sup> According to a Brihadāraṇyaka text the self in the state of sleep 'goes wherever he likes.'<sup>3</sup> The same Upaniṣad in an earlier chapter speaks of the soul as taking to himself, with the aid of his intelligence, the intelligence of the senses, and as moving around in his own body as he pleases.<sup>4</sup> That the soul is agent in sacred and secular actions is the unambiguous teaching of the Taittiriya passage, vijñānam yajñam tanute karmāṇi tanute (self performs the sacrifice, it performs all acts). Here the term 'vijñānam' denotes the soul and not buddhi. If it refers to buddhi, the passage would run 'Through the understanding it performs etc.' As a matter of fact, in another passage where the buddhi is meant the term understanding is used in the instrumental case. The objection that if the soul rather than buddhi were the agent it will engage exclusively in good deeds is met by the following sūtra. Just as the self perceives what is unpleasant as well as what is pleasant, it brings about what is desirable as well as what is undesirable. Sūtra 38 states an additional reason for taking the soul to be the agent. If buddhi were the agent in all activity, it must have an instrument with which to act; and there will be reversal of power. The instrumental power which pro-

1. vidhi śāstram arthavat.

2. eṣa hi draṣṭā śrotā mantā bhoktā kartā vijñānātmā puruṣaḥ. Praśna Up. IV. 9.

3. IV. 3. 12.

4. II. 1. 17 and 18. tadeṣam prānānam vijñānena vijñānamādāya . . . . . prāṇaṁ grahitva . . . sve śarīre yathakāmaṁ parivartate.

perly belongs to buddhi will have to be replaced by the power of an agent. Again, the buddhi which works with instruments becomes virtually identical with the jiva. Since, in either view, an entity distinct from the instrument of action is admitted to be agent, the whole dispute concerns a name only. Nor is that all. Buddhi will become the object of self-consciousness (*ahampratyaya*). The next *sūtra* points out that if *prakṛti* were the sole agent, the soul cannot meditate, and for that reason, will not be released.

Śaṅkara takes *sūtra* 40 to constitute a separate *adhikaraṇa* devoted to the discussion of the question whether the agency which the previous section ascribes to the jiva for the reasons set forth therein, depends on the fundamental nature of the self or on limiting adjuncts. He thinks that the *sūtra* teaches that agency does not belong to the true nature of the soul, as heat belongs to the nature of fire. If *kartṛtva* constituted an essential feature of the soul, there can be no delivery from it, any more than of fire from heat; and so long as man has not freed himself from activity, he cannot obtain *mokṣa*<sup>5</sup>, since all activity is essentially painful. It is not helpful to point out that just as when fuel is withheld, fire does not burn, when the occasions for the manifestation of activity are avoided, the soul will have only the bare potentiality of activity; for, the peculiar relation of occasions to the soul called *śakti* makes their avoidance impossible.<sup>6</sup> Nor can *mokṣa* be obtained by the adoption of means thereto, because whatever depends on means to be employed is non-eternal. The difficulties involved in regarding the soul as an agent force on us the conclusion that the activity of the soul depends upon the quality of its *upādhies* being ascribed to it and does not form part of its nature.<sup>7</sup> Scriptural passages such as 'as if thinking, as if moving', 'The self when in union with the body, the senses and the mind is called the enjoyer by wise people,'<sup>8</sup> show that agency really abides in the *upādhies* and that the soul appears as the doer and the enjoyer only when confused with its limiting adjuncts.<sup>10</sup> The wise person sees no

5. *anirmokṣaprasaṅgāt*.

6. *Kartṛtvasya dharmādīni nimittāni teṣām jñānānivartyatve muktāvapi sambhavāt kartṛtvam syāt jñānena tannivṛttau teṣam ajñānakāryatvāt kṛtam kartṛtvam api tatha syāt, śakteśca śaktaśakyāpekṣatayā sanimitta kriyālakṣaṇaśakyāpekṣakatvāt anirmokṣaḥ tasmānnimittaparihārasya duranuṣṭhanatvānna śaktivāde muktiriti* Ān. Gi. *Sāktaśakyāśraya śaktiḥ svasattayā avasyam śakyam ākṣipati. Bhāmati.*

7. *Tasmādupādhidharmādhyāsenaivātmanaḥ kartṛtvam na svābhāvikaṁ.*

8. *Brih. Up. IV. 3. 7.*

9. *Chand. Up. I. 3. 4.*

10. *Avidyāpratyuprasthāpitatvāt kartṛtvabhoktṛtvayoḥ.*

self which can be called agent and enjoyer apart from the highest self.<sup>11</sup> If there is no individual soul apart from the highest Self, then, for whom is samsāra and mokṣa ? The reply is that the conditions of samsāra and mokṣa are not for paramātmā or for buddhisamgāta but for the highest Ātma that appears as the jiva under buddhi and other upādhies.<sup>12</sup>

Just as the carpenter undergoes pain as long as he works with his tools and enjoys ease and leisure when he lays aside his tools, the jiva undergoes hardship when, in association with mind and other instruments, he appears as agent and enjoys full ease and comfort when in deep slumber and in the state of final release he shakes off these impediments and enters into the highest Self. In all activities such as cutting wood, fitting it, etc., the carpenter is agent only when furnished with implements ; similarly, the jiva can be agent only when supplied with mind and other accessories. Without them, he must remain a non-agent. Yet another reason for inferring that kartṛtva does not constitute part of its real nature is the Upaniṣad doctrine of oneness of the jiva and Brahman.<sup>13</sup>

Śaṅkara is not unaware of the inconsistency of this conclusion with the result of the previous section and feels that an explanation is called for. Vedic injunctions prescribing certain acts of duty presuppose agency on the part of the jiva. In the face of this, how can he deny all agency to the soul ? His explanation is that scriptural passages attributing kartṛtva to the jiva are of the nature of anuvādas ; their aim is not to establish the agency of the jiva, but, taking such agency as is already known to exist as a fact, to indicate what is dharma and adharma to souls steeped in avidyā.<sup>14</sup> Descriptions of the soul as wandering about, taking his senses and performing sacred and secular duties are said to refer to the soul associated with limiting adjuncts and not to the pure self. Even in sleep the mind is not completely in abeyance ; it continues to act. With its aid the soul may still be said to take the senses and wander about. The term vijñānam in 'vijñānam yajñam tanute' which was said to mean the self is here made to denote buddhi. Buddhi is now described as the real agent in sacred and secular activity. Meditation too is the work of buddhi.

11. Na hi vivekinām parasmādanyaḥ jīvo nāma kartā bhoktā ca vidīyate.

12. Budhyādyupahitasya ātmasvabhāvasya jivabhāva māpannasyeti par-mārthaḥ. Bhāmati.

13. nityasuddhamuktātmapratipādanāt.

14. Tasmāt avidyā kṛtam kartṛtvam upādāya vidhiśāstram pravartīṣyati.

Sūtras 41 and 42 enter on the discussion whether the agency attributed to the soul in the state of avidya and founded on its upādhies is independent of the Lord or dependent on Him. That the Lord is the agent in all activity is established on the strength of scriptural assertions such as 'He makes him whom He wishes to lead up from these worlds do a good deed ; and He makes him whom He wishes to lead down from these worlds do a bad deed.'<sup>15</sup> 'He who dwelling within the self pulls the self within.'<sup>16</sup> The soul has no independent agency.<sup>17</sup> It is completely under the control of Brahman, who is the superintendent of all actions. Bondage and release are brought about by his permission and grace respectively. The net result of the discussion is that kartṛtva is a fictitious quality of a fictitious entity. The reply to the objection that if causal agency belongs to the Lord, he must be taken to be cruel and partial and that the soul has to experience the consequences of actions which it did not execute, is that the Lord takes into account the efforts made by it. Keeping in mind the virtuous and vicious actions of the soul, He arranges favourable and unfavourable circumstances. Just as rain is the mere occasional cause of the growth of shrubs, bushes and so on, the Lord is only the occasional cause. The way in which different jivas develop is determined solely by their previous deeds, and these, in their turn, by still earlier deeds. This regressus is unending, because saṃsāra is anādi. God is not to blame for the observed inequalities any more than rain is to blame for the growth of different plants. Though He makes them act, it is the soul that acts.

### VALLABHA

Vallabha, the exponent of Śuddhādvaita, or pure monism, which differs considerably from Śaṅkara's Kevalādvaita, interprets these sūtras differently. According to him the section comprising sūtras 33 to 40 aims at refuting the Sāṅkhya position that prakṛti is the sole agent, while puruṣa is only enjoyer. Acts of duty enjoined in the Veda for the realisation of specific ends are not for Brahman, for whom they have no use ; nor for matter as it cannot perform them.<sup>18</sup> They are intended for the jivas who must, therefore, be taken to be agents. The liberated (mukta) souls are said to realise all their desires.<sup>19</sup> Enjoyment (bhoktṛtva) and agency (kartṛtva) belong together. Hence the souls to whom enjoy-

15. Kau. Up. III. 8.

16. Sat. Brah. XIV. 6. 7. 30.

17. na ca svābhāvīkasya kartṛtvam asti brahmātmavopadeśāt iti avocāma.

18. Brahmaṇo anupayogāt jaḍasyāśakyatvāt. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

19. Chand. Up. Dahara Vidyā . . . sa yadi pitṛloka kāmo bhavati.

ment is attributed must be agents too.<sup>20</sup> The jiva is described as taking his senses and moving about. Objection is taken to Śāṅkara's view that kartṛtva is due to limiting conditions. The doctrine that agency is aupādika must maintain either that agency properly belongs to buddhi but is wrongly ascribed to the jiva or that it belongs to the jiva but waits for upādhies for manifestation<sup>21</sup> or that agency which is, in itself, wholly non-existent, appears when jiva and buddhi get into association. Against the first alternative it is pointed out that the Sūtrakāra nowhere attributes agency to buddhi and in racanānūpattiyadhikaraṇa definitely denies kartṛtva to prakṛti. On the second alternative, which is not altogether wrong, it is difficult to account for the śruti passage that the jiva takes the prāṇa. How can the jiva take the prāṇa which is a modification of prakṛti, when it depends on that very buddhi for its activity? The last alternative is unacceptable because the śruti looks upon agency as real. Īkṣatyadhikaraṇa ascribes kartṛtva to Brahman. Being advocates of satkāryavāda, the Vedantins cannot maintain that the jiva acquires a kartṛtva which it did not possess previously. To say that Brahman is nirguṇa and that kartṛtva is a fiction is to accept mādhyamika nihilism.<sup>22</sup> The jiva is explicitly stated to be an agent in the passage, vijñānam yajñam tanute. The term vijñānam refers only to the jiva; otherwise it must have been used in the instrumental case as elsewhere. Again if it be said to refer to buddhi, the term vijñānamaya occurring earlier in the same passage ought to mean the modification of buddhi, which is clearly inappropriate apart from being grammatically inaccurate. Besides, buddhi is devoid of spontaneity and cannot, therefore, be considered an agent.<sup>23</sup> In working with instruments, the jiva performs good as well as bad deeds, even as he perceives pleasant and unpleasant objects in cognising with the aid of the sense organs. The objection that if the jiva is agent all his actions will be of an agreeable kind is wholly lacking in force. Unlike God, the jiva is limited in many ways and is incapable of avoiding undesirable actions. The jiva is said to acquire powers of knowledge and action under meditation, and as, in the absence of the latter, such powers will be missing, the jiva's power to meditate must be admitted. On the analogy of the carpenter who constructs a chariot and rides therein, it is shown that the jiva can at once be doer and enjoyer.

20. Kartṛtvabhokṛtvayoḥ sādhu-kārī sādhubhavaditi itī sāmanādhikarāṇya śravanāt. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

21. jivagaṭameva kartṛtvam buddhisambandhāt udgacchati. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

22. sarvaviplavastu mādhyamikavat upekṣyaḥ. Aṇu Bhāṣya. p. 739.

23. jaḍasya svātantryābhāvāt na kartṛtvam. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

Most of the arguments advanced in Śaṅkara's commentary on sūtra 39 to establish that real agency belongs only to upādhis are called in question. Against Śaṅkara's contention that if real agency be an essential attribute of the soul, it will never lose it, and as activity is essentially painful, mokṣa will become impossible of attainment, Vallabha points out that not all activity is painful and asserts that mokṣa is impossible only on the view that agency is not natural to the soul (parādhina). The teaching that the jiva is essentially one with Brahman is made use of by Śaṅkara to prove that the jiva is devoid of agency. From the same teaching, Vallabha draws the opposite conclusion. He discards the view that kartṛtva is incompatible with mokṣa as founded on error. In describing our doings the scripture qualifies them by an 'as it were.' This qualification is interpreted by Śaṅkara as indicating the essentially unreal character of our actions. Vallabha regards it as a case of parādharmānukaraṇa. Śaṅkara states that meditation and other vedic duties are enjoined only to the soul immersed in nescience. Vallabha points out that meditation can be practised only by the soul that is able to control the senses and not by ignorant persons. Certain śruti texts declare that there is no self which can be called enjoyer or agent apart from the highest Self. Their purport, according to Vallabha, is not to deny distinctions, but to emphasise the śarīraśarīribhāva. Śaṅkara's inference concerning the unreality of all activity in waking life from the illusory character of our doings in dreams is rejected by Vallabha as deserving of no notice.<sup>24</sup>

The following adhikaraṇa states that kartṛtva which belongs of right only to Brahman characterises the jiva also, because the relation of Brahman and the individual soul is one of pure identity, even as the relation of whole (amśin) and part (amśa).<sup>25</sup> Finite souls, in Vallabha's philosophy, are in essence one with Brahman. On the analogy of fire and sparks the jiva is said to be non-different from Brahman. The Upaniṣads characterise Brahman as the sole agent in all activity; yet he cannot be said to be responsible for the evil in the world.<sup>26</sup> From the beginning of time, he has been the sole kārayitā; still the charges of cruelty and partiality cannot be urged against him. In all his activity the jiva alone puts forth effort and is, however, unable to reach up to

24. Svāpyaya sampathyoḥ brahmavyapadeśam puraskṛtya sarvaviplavam vadan-  
nupekṣyaḥ. Aṇu Bhāṣya. p. 745.

25. Kartṛtvam brahmagatameva tatsambandhādeva jīve kartṛtvam tad  
amśatvāt.

26. sarvarūpatvāt na bhagavati doṣaḥ.

the goal without help. Thereafter, the Lord comes to his aid and completes the act.<sup>27</sup> Just as the father explains the advantages and disadvantages of different courses of action and, on finding that the child is bent on doing something, actually helps him to carry it through, the Lord waits for the jiva to put forth effort and helps him to execute the act.<sup>28</sup> In respect of putting forth effort, the jiva is free. The Lord distributes rewards and punishments in strict accordance with the jiva's previous karma. If a person's efforts are solely decided by past karma, vedic injunctions and prohibitions become meaningless. In accordance with man's efforts, the Lord makes him enter on good or bad deeds. The effort, in its turn, is decided by the person's desire. (kā māpekṣaḥ). The desires are brought on by earlier desires and so on indefinitely backward. If Brahman is obliged to take note of and act according to the law of karma does He not become limited? His supremacy suffers no diminution inasmuch as He has himself willed it that he should distribute rewards and punishments<sup>29</sup> according to the jiva's previous karma. The law of karma is not independent of God. It expresses the will of God. He does not choose to override it.

### SRIKANTA

Unless the jiva is the agent in all action, vedic injunctions and prohibitions would be pointless. Vedānta texts describing him as taking his senses with him and moving about in his own body imply that he is a doer.<sup>30</sup> The śruti passage, vijñānam yajñam tanute, makes the self the performer of sacrifices. The term 'vijñānam' does not refer to buddhi; for, if it denotes buddhi, it must have been used in the instrumental case (vijñānena). There are difficulties in the way of looking upon prakṛti as an agent. For one thing, if prakṛti were agent, it being one and common to all puruṣas, the fruits of its activity will be shared by all or none. Moreover, on the principle that the agent is the enjoyer as well, puruṣa will be deprived of even the power of enjoyment, which it is said to possess. Further, in practising meditation, which is prescribed as a means for the attainment of final liberation, the meditating entity has to realise its fundamental difference from prakṛti. If prakṛti were the sole agent, meditation will be one of its activities. Obviously, it is impossible for matter to meditate in this fashion. On the hypothesis

27. Prayatnaparyantam jīva kṛtyam agre tasya āśakyatvāt svayamevakārayati.

28. Yathā bālam putram yatamānam padārthaguṇadoṣau varṇayannapi tat prayatnābhiniveśam dṛṣtvā tathaiva kārayati. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

29. Na ca anīśvaratvam maryādāmārgasya tathaiva nirmāṇāt. Aṇu Bhāṣya.

30. Brih. Up. II. 18.

of non-intelligent prakṛti being the exclusive agent, another difficulty arises. There must result either ceaseless activity or perpetual inaction. It is impossible to account for the change from a state of activity to one of inactivity and *vice versa*. The view that the soul is the agent has no such difficulties to face. The jiva can either engage in activity or refrain from it according to his desire, just as a carpenter works with his tools when he chooses or remains inactive when he does not choose to work. These considerations unmistakably point to the conclusion that jiva rather than prakṛti is the real agent.

It is now necessary to decide whether the jiva is free, and if so, to what extent he enjoys freedom. The scripture ascribes agency to the self, and at the same time, makes it clear that he is not an entirely free agent, for his activity depends on and is derived from the Lord. The view that Brahman is the ultimate source of all action must meet two objections, that of making scriptural injunctions futile (*vaiyartya*), and of rendering God liable to the charges of cruelty and partiality (*vaiṣamya*). Srikanta's solution of the ancient problem of free will and determinism is not without interest. God's supremacy does not deprive the jiva of his autonomy of will. Of his own free choice, the jiva enters on different courses of conduct. But his effort alone does not suffice for the realisation of the ends he pursues. The co-operation of God, 'the senior partner in the enterprise,' is also essential. The Lord pays due regard to the volitional effort which prompts the soul's action, grants his consent and makes him act. The case of the jiva is not unlike that of the boy who can lift a log of wood only with the aid of a strong man. In the business of lifting the log, the boy, though dependent on the help of the strong man, is subject to being commanded. Similarly, the jiva's dependence on Maheśvara does not rob the vedic mandates of their utility.<sup>31</sup> The jiva must put forth effort and strive to abstain from adharma. As the Lord makes the jiva act in ways indicated by its own volitional effort, the charges of cruelty and partiality drop away.<sup>32</sup> The soul's actions are thus, the consequence of its own efforts; the efforts are the joint product of its desires and previous karma. Previous karma is the outcome of still earlier karma; and the series of karma is without a beginning.

31. Yathā gurutaradārvādi haraṇam bālah prabalaśahāyaḥ kurvannapi svaprayatne vidhiniṣedhayogyo bhavati evam jīvaḥ parameśvarasahāyaḥ pravartamānopi svayam vidhiniṣedhayogyo bhavati.

32. Jīvagataprayatnāpekṣatvāt karmasu jīvasya pravartakaḥ īśvaraḥ na vaiṣamya bhāḥ.



## RĀMĀNUJA

Rāmānuja disagrees with the view that the individual soul, being itself non-active, attributes to itself the activity of non-intelligent guṇas. He takes the sūtras 33 to 35 to establish that the soul is an active agent in the drama of existence.<sup>33</sup> If it is not conceded that in some sense we are authors of our deeds, we would be mere play things in the hands of external forces. If man were completely controlled by forces alien to himself, he is no better than an animal trained to do tricks. Moral codes would become unmeaning. There is no point in directing people to do this or that, if men are not intelligent centres of activity. Bādarāyaṇa's statement that if the vedic mandates are to have a meaning the individual soul must be admitted to be an agent reminds one of the Kantian dictum 'ought' implies 'can.' Freedom has its roots deep down in our moral consciousness. Vedic commands such as, 'He who desires the heavenly world is to sacrifice,' 'He who desires mokṣa is to meditate,' etc., prescribe actions to those desirous of obtaining svarga, mokṣa and other benefits and who can regulate their conduct in the light of defined and definable ends. The term 'śāstra' is derived from 'śās,' to command, to impel to action by arousing a conception in the mind of the individual to whom it is addressed. Non-intelligent pradhāna cannot be commanded or induced to action in this manner. Vedic injunctions are obviously addressed to intelligent souls and according to the well-known Purva Mimāṃsa dictum, 'the fruit of the injunction belongs to the agent,'<sup>34</sup> the jiva, who is to enjoy the results of deeds, is the doer.

Certain śruti and smṛti passages that seem to support the *prima facie* view that prakṛti is the source of all activity and puruṣa is only enjoyer are examined and their proper meaning set forth. The real meaning of the text, 'If the slayer thinks that he slays, if the slain thinks that he is slain, they both do not understand; for this one does not slay, nor is that one slain,'<sup>35</sup> is that the self being eternal cannot be killed. It does not mean that the self is not agent in activities such as slaying. Several passages from the Bhāgavat Gīta which, taken apart from their context, may convey the teaching that the guṇas alone possess active power, are found to assert that in the state of bondage the activity of the self is not due to its own nature but to its contact with the different guṇas. The statement, 'he who through an untrained understanding looks upon the isolated self as an agent, that man of per-

33. Ātmaiva kartā na guṇaḥ.

34. śāstraphalam prayoktari. M. Sūtra. III. 7. 18.

35. Kath. Up. II. 18.

verted mind does not see,'<sup>36</sup> read along with a previous passage means that the activity of the jiva depends on five factors of which the self is only one. He who views the isolated self as an agent has no true insight. The capacity to take the senses and move about is attributed to the soul in the śruti passage<sup>37</sup> which describes him as taking to himself his senses and moving about in his own body according to his pleasure, just as a great king taking with him his people moves around in his own country. The soul's agency in all worldly and vedic activities is taught in a Taittiriya text. If this passage intended to ascribe such activities to buddhi it must use the term vijñānena in the place of vijñāna.

Having established that the soul is an agent, Bādarāyaṇa exposes in sūtras 36 to 38 the absurdities involved in denying agency to the soul. In the first place, as prakṛti is common to all jivas, all its actions would result in enjoyment on the part of all souls, or else on the part of none. For the reason that the soul is all-pervading and in touch with all matter, it cannot be maintained that the distribution of results among the different souls depends on the different internal organs joined to souls. Secondly, if prakṛti were the agent, it must be the enjoyer of the fruits of actions. The power of enjoyment must be denied to the self. One of the main arguments of the Sāṅkhya in support of the jiva would have been lost. A person exists on account of the fact of enjoyment. Rāmānuja's interpretation of sūtra 38 is very similar to that of Srikanta. Realisation of one's difference from prakṛti constitutes the essence of meditation, which is the means to apavarga. If all activity belonged to matter, meditation must be included among prakṛti's actions; but it is obvious that prakṛti cannot meditate in this manner.

Just as a carpenter, though furnished with axe and other implements, works or does not work according to his pleasure, the jiva though endowed with instruments of action, may or may not act according to his desires. If buddhi were the agent, it must be eternally active, because desire is alien to its nature. This sūtra definitely asserts that the soul has freedom of choice, that he is a real agent in all action.

(To be continued)

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36. B. Gīta. XVIII. 16.

37. Brih. Up. II. 1. 18. Indriya prerāṇe śarīra prerāṇe ca kartṛtvamuktam. Śruta Prakāśikā.

# Three South Indian Metal Images—A Study

By

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The metal images which form the subject-matter of this study belong to the Śaivite shrine, commonly called Pāśupatēśwarar Kōvil and situated at Tiruvēṭkaḷam,<sup>1</sup> a village two miles east of Chidambaram, in the district of South Arcot, in the presidency of Madras. The shrine as it stands to-day is modern. Twenty-two years ago it was a dilapidated structure, with the *garbhagr̥ha* in ruins and no habitation round about except that of its *Gurukkal*, the *archaka* or priest. The priesthood of the temple has been hereditary in the family of the present *Gurukkal* for the past four generations and as regards the circumstances of the find of these images he remembers his great-grand-mother telling him how they were excavated from a mound, a few yards southwards of the shrine.

Local tradition credits the place with Arjuna's penance and this tradition finds expression in the annual festival that is celebrated at Tiruvēṭkaḷam on two days in the month of *Vaikāśi*.<sup>2</sup> On the morning of *Vaiśākham*, the second day, the image of Arjuna is removed to an open space, a furlong to the south-west of the temple, and called 'Tapas tope.' There Arjuna is supposed to do penance with the object of obtaining *pāśupatāstram* from Śiva. In the afternoon the images of Kirātārjunamūrti<sup>3</sup> and Pārvati are taken there and a fight is staged between Kirātārjunamūrti and Arjuna. In the evening Śiva as Vṛṣabha-rūḍhamūrti with Pārvati makes the present of *pāśupatāstram* to Arjuna. The chief interest of the festival lies in the mock-fight between men dressed as hunters and men dressed as Arjuna. The festival itself is of recent growth, being not more than twenty-seven years old.

The Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple—although it is at present outshadowed by the temple of Natarāja at Chidambaram—is celebrated by the Śaivite

1. Tiruvakkulam of the District Gazetteer.

2. May-June.

3. More generally known as Pāśupatēśwarar, a name after which the temple itself is called.

saints, Appar and Tirujñāna Sāmbandar. Sāmbandar refers to Vēṭkaḷam as being situated near the sea and where *Vēdam*, or the chanting of hymns and *Vēlvi* or sacrifice are going on. Between Tiruvēṭkaḷam and the sea there is now a distance of at least five miles, but the land in between is low-lying and interspersed with lagoons and sand-mounds which indicate that it must have been under sea sometime. There is no reference in Sāmbandar's song which would lend support to the local tradition. Appar, on the other hand, speaks of Vēṭkaḷam as the place where *Vēṭaṇār* lives.<sup>4</sup> The term *Vēṭaṇār*, meaning hunter, evidently refers to Śiva as Kirāta and the local tradition of Vēṭkaḷam, being the abode of *Vēṭaṇār*, must have taken shape already during the time of Appar.<sup>5</sup>

Most Hindus are familiar with the story of Arjuna's penance. It has been made famous by the great Sanskrit poet Bhāravi in his poem *Kirātārjunīya*. It is related in *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvam*, *Kirātāparvam*, chapters 37, 38 and 39. Arjuna repairs to the Himalayas and does penance of the most austere type to please Śiva so that the latter may give him his powerful weapon, called *Pāśupatāstram*. Śiva appears as Kirāta (a hunter) 'of giant form and with bow and arrows' to test the strength of his devotee. There is a quarrel between him and Arjuna over the dead body of a boar which both have shot; and a fight follows in which Arjuna licks the ground. The practised warrior's art is of no avail against Kirāta. Arjuna is stupefied. He recovers, but cannot understand how anybody should be able to defeat him. He improvises an earthen linga, decks it with garlands of flowers and thinks of Śiva. But to his great surprise he finds the garlands adorning the hair of his adversary and in an instant he sees through the affair. He is convinced that his conqueror is no other person than *Īśvara*. Śiva is still in disguise; he is Kirāta; and after telling Arjuna that he was the person best fitted to receive his bow, *pāśupatāstram*, changes form. Now Arjuna sees before him Śiva as *Śūlapāṇi* in great splendour and with Pārvatī.

Sculptural representation of this story is very rare. The reliefs on panels of two broken pillars from Chandimau in the Bihar sub-division of the Patna district of Bengal and now at the Indian Museum, Calcutta, show some spirited scenes which, in the opinion of the late R. D. Bannerji, must be referred to incidents connected with this story. On

4. 'வேடஞ்ஞைற வேட்களம்'.

5. I am obliged to Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Lecturer in Tamil at the University and to Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy, my colleague in the History Department, for reading with me the *Dēvāram* songs of Appar and Sāmbandar, celebrating the Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple.

the basis of the palaeography of certain letters found scratched on them the pillars have been assigned by him to the Gupta period.<sup>6</sup>

*Kāraṇāgama*, one of the Śaiva Āgamas, contains the following description of Kirātārjunamūrti, or Śiva as he appears before Arjuna. He has four arms, three eyes and a *Jaṭāmakūṭa* on the head. His colour is red. He stands in the *samabhanga* flexion wearing nice garments and ornaments. He has the sacred thread (*yajñōpavīta*). He carries in his hand the *dhanus*, the *bāṇa*, the *paraśu* and the *mṛga*. Pārvati must stand on his left and on his right Arjuna in *anjali* pose. Arjuna wears *jaṭāmakūṭa* on his head and ornaments on his body. The description is that of a group, consisting of three, Śiva, Arjuna and Pārvati, the name itself being applied to denote only Śiva in this group. We are here evidently in the last act of the drama where Śiva has already doffed his disguise; he is no longer Kirāta.

A few sculptures of Kirātārjunamūrti in stone have been found in South India. H. K. Sastri in his "South Indian Gods and Goddesses," gives two illustrations.<sup>7</sup> The first is from the Chennakēśava temple at Pushpagiri, ten miles north-west of Cuddapah. It is a relief-sculpture depicting the last scene in the drama where Śiva with Pārvati by his side is in the act of giving *pāśupatiāstram*—here represented as a club-like weapon—to Arjuna. Śiva holds in his back left hand the trident. He is verily the *Śūlapāṇi* 'in great splendour' and with Pārvati whom Arjuna according to the Mahābhārata, sees before him. *Kāraṇāgama* has the *mṛga* or antelope in the place of the trident. The second, which is again in relief, comes from Chidambaram. It shows Kirātārjunamūrti as the *Kāraṇāgama* describes him. Pārvati is absent. But there is a small figure of Arjuna in *anjali* pose on the right-hand bottom of the relief.

T. A. G. Rao in his "Elements of Hindu Iconography," Vol. II, Part i, provides a third specimen. It is found in the Śaivite temple at Tiruchchengānttangudi in the Tanjore District,<sup>8</sup> a sculpture in the round with Śiva and Pārvati standing together. Śiva carries the axe, the antelope, the bow and arrow. Arjuna, however, is absent from the group.

The collection of South Indian metal images in the several museums in India and Europe includes a number of images of Śiva in his various

6. Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1911-12, pp. 161 ff.

7. Figs. 91 and 92.

8. Pl. LXII, fig. 1.

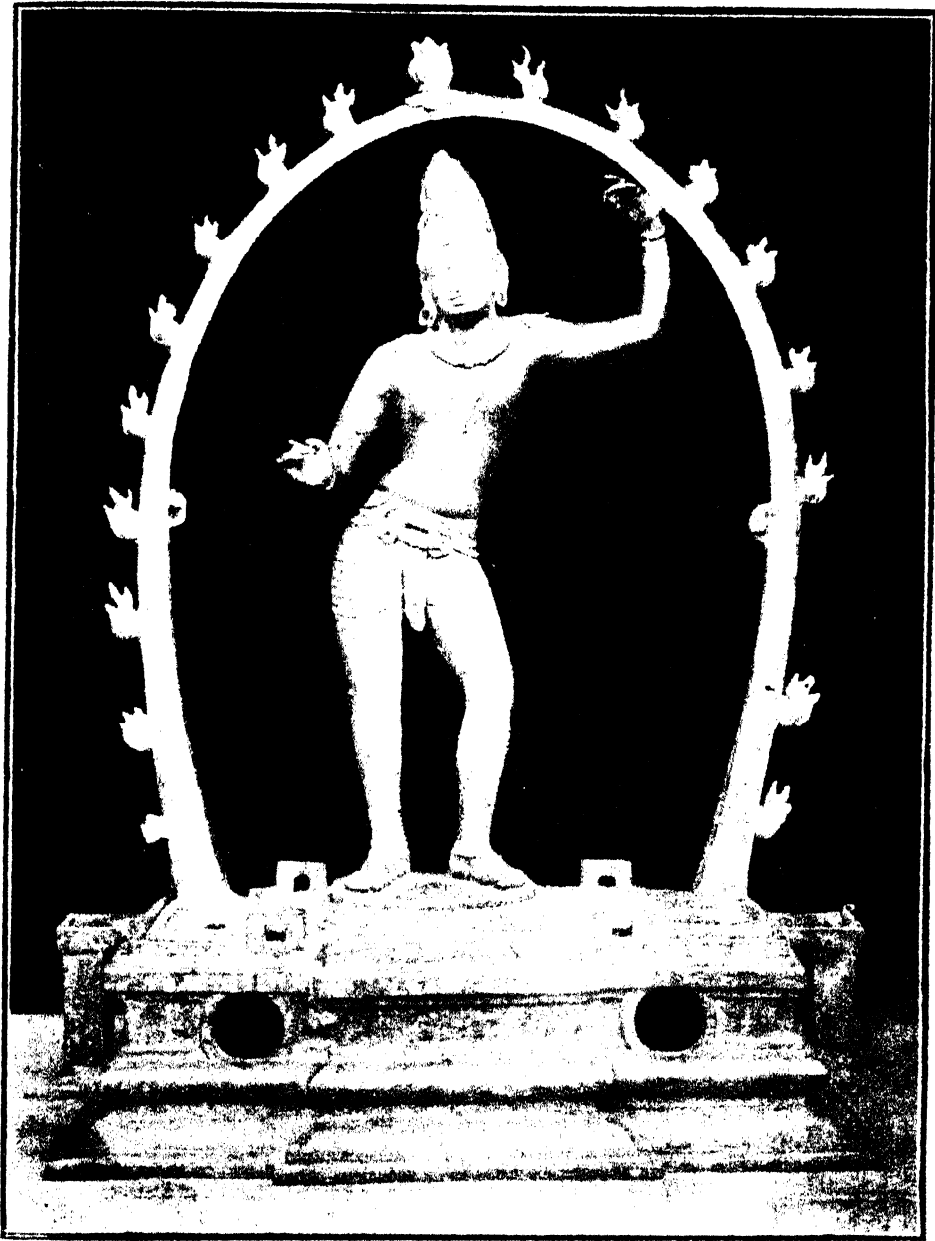


Fig. 1. Kirātārjunamūrti (Front view)

— (Copyright)



Fig. 2. Kirātārjunamūrti (Back view)

— (Copyright)

forms, but it cannot show a single example of Śiva as Kirātārjunamūrti.<sup>9</sup> This fact lends a peculiar interest to the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Kirātārjunamūrti, (figs. 1 and 2). An image of Kirātārjunamūrti is referred to in two inscriptions of Rājendra Chōla in the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjore.<sup>10</sup> The first inscription is dated in the sixth year of the king. Section 3 of the inscription referring to the image of Kirātārjunamūrti reads thus :—

“The minister Udayadivākaran Tillaiyāliyār, alias Rājarāja-Mūvendavēlar, a native of Kāñchivāyil, deposited thirteen kāsu for the sacred food and other requirements (of the image) of Kṛātārju(ni)ya-dēvar, which he had set up himself.”

The second inscription dated in the 10th year of the king refers to the same image but calls it Kṛātārjunadēvar. H. K. Sastri finds this image in the image from a Śaivite temple in Tanjore figured as No. 28 in Part ii of his “Viśvakarma” by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. While it is not certainly an image of Gangādharamūrti as Coomaraswamy calls it, H. K. Sastri's identification of it is equally wrong. There is no dispute over the fact that the back arms must have held the axe and the antelope, but the two fore-arms are not ‘so adjusted as to receive into them the bow and arrow.’ They are in the *kataka* pose, characteristic of Viṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti. And, after all, it may be an image of Viṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti and not either Gangādharamūrti or Kirātārjunamūrti. It reminds us of the image of Viṇādhara-Dakṣiṇāmūrti at Musée Guimet.<sup>11</sup>

## THE IMAGES<sup>12</sup>—DESCRIPTION

### I. Kirātārjunamūrti.

Figures 1 and 2 show the front and back views of Kirātārjunamūrti.

The image is 23.2" high, is made of copper and cast solid, *cire perdue* wise.

Kirātārjunamūrti's matted hair is tied in *jaṭāmakūṭa*. There is neither snake, nor skull visible on it, but it is adorned with a row of gar-

9. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan of the Madras Museum tells me of an image of Kirātārjunamūrti now in the possession of Mr. Hirananda Sāstri, Epigraphist to the Government of India.

10. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part i, Nos. 9 and 10.

11. The Civilizations of the East, India, by René Grousset, fig. 91, p. 164

12. I am indebted to Mr. M. V. Subramanian, Mechanic in the Physics Department of the University, for his services in photographing these images.



lands. The flowers making up the garlands are worked realistically and appear to be arka.<sup>13</sup> These represent the very garlands which Arjuna placed on his improvised earthen linga. Below the row of garlands is a narrow floral band. The arrangement of the matted hair defeats comparison. While it will be conceded that it is the most perfect form of *jaṭāmakūṭa* it is unlike the *jaṭāmakūṭa* in any known image of Śiva. On top of the *jaṭāmakūṭa* there is a four-petal-formation with a central knob crowning it. The same motive is repeated on either side of the garland, but with the central knob very much flattened out. Just above the forehead there is an ornamental band, taken round and tied at the back in an elegant knot. Locks of hair extremely realistic in their formation fall down the neck at the back; two of them fall on to the front, one on each shoulder.

He wears a *patra-kunḍala* in his right ear and there is no ear-ornament in the left. Śiva in most of his forms wears a *makara-kunḍala* in his right ear and *patra-kunḍala* in the left. Here the departure from convention seems to have been intentional, to add force to the disguise.

The tip of the nose shows indication of having been damaged and very cleverly repaired.

He has a single necklace with beaded ornament in front. It is tied at the back close to the neck and through the locks can be seen its tassel, flat and heart-shaped.

His *yajñōpavīta* or sacred thread consists of three strands which are quite distinct at the back. They are tied in front in a knot the ends of which rest on the left side of the chest. He has neither *kēyūra* armlet nor *udarabandha*, that band in between the waist and chest, a common adjunct in South Indian images. A single *valaya* adorns his wrist. He has rings on his thumb, fore-finger, ring-finger and little finger.

He wears a loin-cloth which is tightly wrapped and kept in position by means of a decorated belt or girdle. The clasp of the belt only very faintly suggests a *simhamukha*. Below the belt at the back run two parallel strings. The one nearest to the belt passes underneath the lower ends of the clasp and the other passes over it in front. One end of the loin-cloth is taken behind the two parallel strings at the back and the other falls from the belt in front in a neat little fold between the

13. *Calotropis gigantea*.

legs. The arrangement of the loin-cloth lends the image a singular charm. We do not find it repeated on any other South Indian metal image.

There is a crack in his right leg, just below the calf, but it is skilfully cemented.

He wears a *pādasara* on his foot, below the ankle and a ring each on the big toe.

He stands in the *ābhanga* pose with the weight of his body resting on his left leg. His right arm is raised at right angles in the gesture of holding the arrow and the left arm is raised vertically from the place of the shoulder in the gesture of holding the top of a bow. He is a being who is conscious of his supreme strength, but does not make a show of it. There is a singular charm, a freedom and ease in the way he stands.

The image as it stands within the temple has an arrow in the right hand and the left hand holds the top of a bow with its other end resting on the base. But since these are modern they were removed at the time when the image was photographed.

This image is much better called *Kirāta* than *Kirātārjunamūrti*, for it represents that stage in the drama where Śiva is still in disguise and has just received the garlands which Arjuna offered to his earthen linga. It does not conform to the description of *Kirātārjunamūrti* given in the *Kāraṇāgama* where he is already Śiva with all his attributes. The third eye is visible and this fact along with the garlands on the head of his adversary make his identity quite clear to Arjuna.

The image is mounted on a pedestal, a low *padmāsana* which is fixed on to the centre of a rectangular metal-slab, having two square sockets on either end.

There is a *tiruvāṣi* or *prabhāmaṇḍala*, an oval ring fringed with tongues of flame, surrounding the image and attached to the ends of the rectangular slab immediately behind the sockets. The tongues of flame on the outer edge of the *tiruvāṣi* are portrayed realistically and there is a symmetry in their arrangement with nine on either side. One on the left is broken off. The central flame, right over the head of *Kirātārjunamūrti*, is much larger than the rest and underneath it is the same floral motive that is found on top of the *jaṭāmakuṭa*. The raised left hand of the image is fixed to the inner side of the *tiruvāṣi*. The image with its rectangular slab to which its pedestal is attached, and the *tiruvāṣi* fits

into a detachable stand. The stand has two holes bored through its thickness so as to allow for the insertion of two rods that will facilitate the set being carried when in procession. The rectangular metal-slab fits exceedingly well into the stand and it is quite possible that the stand is contemporary with the rest. In fact, the image of Kirātārjuna-mūrti with its *tiruvāṣi* and the two images which the square sockets were meant originally to receive cannot have stood erect without the support of the stand.

The *pūjāri* of the temple testifies to the fact that when this image was excavated it had the image of Arjuna (figs. 3 and 4), now standing separate on a modern pedestal, socketed on the left and a broken image of Indra on the right. He further says that this image was used up for the sake of its old metal in the making of the other *utsava-mūrtis* that adorn the temple at present. They were, all of them, made simultaneously with the present temple structure. We cannot, however, understand the presence of Indra in the group. Nowhere is it said that Indra was on the scene of fighting between Kirāta and Arjuna although we know that Arjuna started his penance on the advice of Indra and also that he went to *Indra-loka* after obtaining the *pāśupat-āstram*. Whether the broken image was of Indra or not, it is doubtless that there must have been an image fixed into the right socket also. In the centre of each socket is a hole which must have accommodated some sort of a protruding rod from the underside of the image. On the inner surface of the *tiruvāṣi*, half way up on either side, can be seen a square projection with a central hole which must have held 'nut-fashion' a small cylindrical projection from the back of the image. The broken bit out of Arjuna's back we see still within the hole in the square projection on the inner left of the *tiruvāṣi*. As mentioned above, the image of Arjuna has a modern *padmāsana*, with the yet remaining portion of its old pedestal grafted into it. The modern *padmāsana* removed, it fits in admirably well on the left of Kirāta. The image is 17.7" high and will stand below the raised left arm of Kirāta and well within the *tiruvāṣi*. To explain how Arjuna was attached to the *tiruvāṣi* there is proof coming from the image itself. Just towards the lower-end of the quiver hanging from the left shoulder there is a protuberance which evidently seems to be the remnant of the original that fitted into the hole in the *tiruvāṣi*.<sup>14</sup>

This arrangement of three images under a single *prabhāmandāla* is not known in any of the South Indian metal images.

14. See fig. 4.



Fig. 3. Arjuna (Front view)

—(Copyright)



Fig. 4. Arjuna (Back view)

— (Copyright)

## 2. Arjuna.

Figures 3 and 4 represent the front and back views of the image of Arjuna. It is 17.7" high as stated above and like the image of Kirātārjunamūrti it is made of copper, solid and cast *cire perdue* wise.

The authors of the "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum" give the following as the characteristics of the image of Arjuna :—

" . . . He has no sacred thread. Being a worshipper of Śiva his hair has the form of a *jaṭāmakūṭa*, but being a king he has royal clothing ; having lived for some years in disguise as a eunuch, he is usually shown wearing *patra-kunḍalas* ; being an archer he is usually shown standing in much the same attitude as Rama. But when listening to Krishna propounding the precepts afterwards recorded as the Bha-gavad Gīta he is shown as a king, half-kneeling, with quiver on one shoulder and bow on the other, his hands in the *anjali* pose." <sup>15</sup>

These are not, however, the characteristics of our Arjuna. He wears a *kirīṭa-makūṭa* rather peculiar in its ornamentation and defeating comparison. Attached to its lower end at the back there is a projecting wheel-like structure. From below the head-dress locks of hair, worked less realistically than those of Kirātārjunamūrti, fall down the nape of the neck.

The tip of the nose is slightly rubbed down.

He wears heavy ear-ornaments\* which remind us of certain Pallava sculptures. He has a broad, almost circular, necklace with a series of pendants attached to it. On his trunk are a *yajñōpavīta*, consisting of three beaded strands, *udarabandha* and a cross-band. Two quivers are fixed along the cross-band at the back and in front from the middle of it hangs a vertical branch that disappears into the waist-cloth. He has an arm-band or *Kēyūra* on each arm with a four-lobed flower attached to it in front. This flower motive is rather interesting. It appears on his head-dress fixed as a badge in the middle of it in front. The same motive, but cut half, is attached to the ends of the ear-ornaments. It appears also on Kirātārjunamūrti's *jaṭāmakūṭa*, one on either side of the garland.

15. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum, by F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, p. 16.

\* *Makarakundalas*.

He has a wristlet round each wrist and rings on his thumb, fore-finger and little finger.

He wears a loin-cloth tightly wrapped and kept in position by means of three bands arranged one below the other. The first of these three gives in front the appearance of a knot with its two ends falling down and backwards over the second. The third and lowest is taken across the second and first and gets fused within the scheme of the knot. Altogether there is no suggestion at all of the conventional *Simhamukha* in the arrangement of these bands. Below the three bands there is an arrangement of two sashes, or two long pieces of cloth, taken together twice round the hips so as to leave a loop in front and a bow and two sash-ends on either side, the shorter one immediately above it and the longer reaching down along the leg almost to the ankle.

The authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue<sup>16</sup> rightly find the earliest representation of this mode of tying sashes in certain sculptures from the Amaravati stupa. There are three definite stages in the history of the loop in front. In the Amarāvati and Pallava sculptures it is an easy and natural curve, caused by the sagging of one of the sashes as it is taken round the hips. In the second stage it is still a loop in the sash, but it becomes conventionalized ; it gets rectangular in shape. In the next stage there is no sash at all of which it is a part ; it is definitely a decorative motive attached to the girdle. The bow on either side has also an earlier and a later stage. While in the former it is a part of the sash, in the latter it becomes a mere decoration of the girdle.

The treatment of the loin-cloth is not so realistic as in the case of Kirātārjunamūrti. While in front its folds are shown in the manner of Kirātārjunamūrti wave upon wave, behind they are indicated by means of rough lines. One end of the cloth is taken backwards and comes out between the first and the second of the three waist-bands. The other end drops over the loop in the sash.

He wears an anklet each on his foot and rings on the big and small toes.

His hands are in *anjali* pose and the flexion of the body is *ābhanga*.

The image is skilfully incorporated into a new pedestal made of brass. Of the old pedestal all that is left is a mere circular piece below

16. Loc. cit., p. 20.

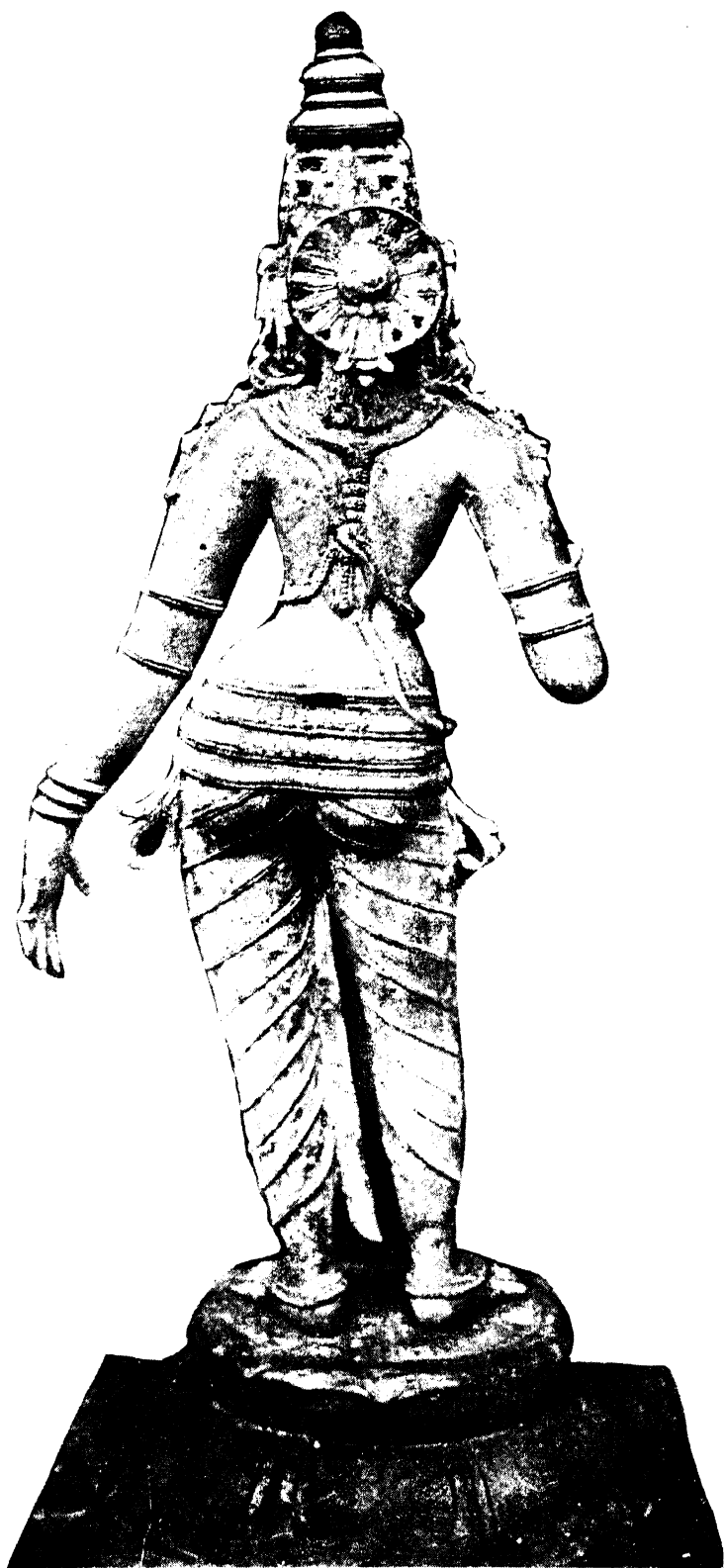


Fig. 6. Pārvati (Back view)





Fig. 5. Pārvati (Front view)

— (Copyright)

the feet. To knock that off and fix the image on a new pedestal would have spoilt the underside of the image and hence the incorporation.

### 3. Pārvati.

Figures 5 and 6 show the front and back views of Pārvati. The image is 21" high, made of an alloy, rather whitish-looking, probably due to greater silver or white lead content in it than in the previous two images and cast solid, *cire perdue* wise.<sup>17</sup>

Pārvati wears *karandamakūṭa* which fits close to her forehead. At the back of it there is a projecting wheel to support garlands. This projecting wheel, however, is unlike the projecting wheel in Arjuna's head-dress. It is slightly concave, while Arjuna's is flat and the spokes too are done in a conventional manner, whereas they are realistic in Arjuna's. Conventional ringlets of hair fall down her neck.

Her face is markedly round and is characterized by a sharpness of features. The drill is employed in the marking of the pupils.

She has elaborate *makara-kundālas* for her ear-rings. Three small inverted fluted cup-like ornaments with a knob on top, called *bāhumalai*, hang down over her shoulders. They are a continuation of the ear-rings and not part of the necklace. She wears the *tālī* and below it a series of three broad, flat and almost circular necklaces. The last one which extends right across the chest has pendants in *nāga-paṭa* or snake-hood shape. A festoon formation made out of the ends of the last necklace falls over the right arm from behind.

The nipple of the right breast is broken off. The breasts almost touch each other just allowing in between the *yajñōpavīta* and the corded thread hanging from the middle of the lowest necklace. The *yajñōpavīta* is tied just above the left shoulder, one end of the knot coming down the middle of the left arm, and the other along further side of it. The corded thread from the middle of the lowest necklace divides itself into three branches, a little below the breasts. The centre one hangs free while the other two spread outward and backward, a little above the waist, one on either side, to join in the middle a similar corded thread coming down from the same necklace. This ornament can be traced

17. South Indian metal images generally are known to have been made of *panchalōha*, an alloy consisting of copper, silver, gold, brass and white lead. Copper which is the chief ingredient determines the colour of the image, the proportion of the other metals making up the alloy being almost negligible. In modern images the metals of gold and silver do not enter.

back to the half-relief figures of Ganga, Yamuna and Sarasvati between the pillars of the entrance porch of Kailāsa at Ellora and to Amarāvati. At Amarāvati, however, it is in the nature of a cross-band.

She wears on either arm a *kēyūra* with a flower and drop badge attached to it in front. She has a *bāji-bandha* with the projecting ornament considered by the authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue as sometimes present in images of Chola type,<sup>18</sup> not on the outer side of the arm, but in front. A set of three bracelets adorns either wrist and she wears rings on the thumb, fore-finger, ring-finger and small-finger.

The cloth covering the lower part of her body falls in easy symmetrical folds round her legs almost down to the ankles. It is kept in position by a girdle which consists of four separate bands, the second and third showing both in front and back ornamental patterns similar to those upon the first two necklaces below the *Tāli*. The last has moniliform festoons and tassels attached to it in front by means of half-flower formations, and a projecting bow on either side. One end of the cloth is taken backward through the fork of the leg and issues out from between the first and second bands in the girdle. The other end hangs close to the left leg with its upper portion taken out in front between the second and third band to form a nice little fold that falls down the right thigh.

She wears *pādasara* on her foot and rings on all the toes.

She stands on a *padmāsana*.

Her right hand is in the gesture of holding a flower or *kaṭaka-hasta*, and the left drops gently in the posture of the *lōla-hasta*.

### THE PROBLEM OF DATING

The dating of South Indian metal images has been generally a vexed question. While at the outset it may be expected that the circumstances of the find of any image will throw some light upon its probable date, in the case of most of the known images they are of little value. Images have been got mainly from treasure-troves and from temples. As regards those from treasure-troves it is not possible to ascertain facts about their find because they are only accidental discoveries and not the result of systematic excavation.<sup>19</sup> For those from temples we do not get any

18. Loc. cit., p. 42.

19. The case of the Polonnaruva images in the Colombo Museum is an exception. They can be fitted into a definite period in Ceylonese chronology from the circumstances of their find.

possible clue to their dating from the date of their habitat. Metal images which constitute the *utsava-mūrtis* or processional images in any temple are largely endowments made to it from time to time by devotees so that they are not, all of them, of the same period and structural alterations have been so common a feature of the history of South Indian temples that we find apparently old images in modern temples and modern images in apparently old temples.

The images that can be dated either from actual dates appearing on them or on the basis of the palaeography of their inscriptions are few and far between. So far we know only one image, an image of Natēsa<sup>20</sup> from Belur in Salem district, and now in the Madras Museum, that bears a date, Kali 4611, i.e., A. D. 1511. The date indicates that the image must be assigned to the Vijayanagar period. There are a few others which can be dated approximately on grounds of the palaeography of their inscriptions, two Śaivite images, one of Kālī<sup>21</sup> (Kālī No. 6.) in the Madras Museum, belonging to the early Chola period and the other of Chandraśekhara<sup>22</sup> in the Musée Guimet, belonging to the later Chola period, two Vaishnavite images in the Madras Museum, one of Bālakrishna<sup>23</sup> and the other of Tondaradippodi Ālvār,<sup>24</sup> both of the Vijayanagar or modern period, a number of small Buddhist images<sup>25</sup> from Negapatam and two portrait images in the temple at Kalahasti in the Chittoor district, one of Sola-ma-devi<sup>26</sup> belonging to the early Chola period and the other of Kulottunga III<sup>27</sup> belonging to the later Chola period. These images do give us some fixed points from which we can work backwards and forwards and determine the degree of proximity or remoteness to these of other images for the dating of which we have no clue except that which is furnished by their iconographical and decorative details.<sup>28</sup>

20. M. M. Catalogue, Pl. XVI, 2 and p. 112.

21. *ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 1 and pp. 122-23.

22. *ibid.*, Pl. XII, 1 and 2 and pp. 100-101.

23. *ibid.*, p. 84, Balakrishna No. 11.

24. *ibid.*, p. 98, Alvar No. 9 and Hooper "Hymns of the Alvars," fig. opposite p. 15.

25. A study of these images by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Archaeological Assistant in the Madras Museum, I understand, will be published very soon.

26. Aravamuthan, "Portrait Sculpture in South India," fig. 12, and p. 37.

27. *ibid.*, Fig. 16, and p. 41.

28. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, in reviewing the "Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum," by F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, in the columns of the "Hindu" Literary Supplement of

A comparison of iconographical details of an image with such details of it laid down in treatises on iconography of known date is valuable in determining whether that image is earlier than the treatise or after it. Here it may be argued that an image which does not conform to the description of it given in treatises on iconography cannot be taken as having been made prior to the treatises, for it might happen that a sculptor with an original bent of mind modelled an image ignoring all the details of it set out in the treatises. But we must remember that the images which we are dealing with belong to the class of *utsava-mūrtis* specially made for the temples, and once the rules regarding their iconographical details are fixed, it is highly improbable that the priestly class would ever suffer any departure from them in the case of such images.

Another method which has been largely adopted by scholars in fixing the date of South Indian metal images is to compare them with stone images of known date. Hadaway's criticism<sup>29</sup> of it is unmerited. It does not seem that "a rare combination of intuitive artistic insight with knowledge of both stone-working and metal-working and the differences of the technique of the two" is a necessary condition for anyone to be able to undertake such comparison. An experienced eye can always detect that "inexplicable something" which connects the one with the other. Sculpture in stone and sculpture in metal are intimately connected and from what we know of the history of Indian sculpture Indian craftsmen working in one material have worked with equal skill in another material.<sup>30</sup> This fact, however, has been taken by Hadaway to render all comparisons of metal with stone images of known date useless as regards the dating of the former. But it is this fact "the imitative propensity of Indian craftsmen and their delight in working one material in a manner best suited to another," which lends support to the view that in any period in the history of Indian art there must have been an intimate relation between sculpture in stone and sculpture in metal. The spirit is the same that runs through both belonging to the same period and the decorative and other details of the one are bound to be reflected in the other.

February 13, 1933, suggested this method of grouping other images round about these that can be dated from the point of view of "the general effect produced by the combination of a number of differences in details . . . difficult to express in words" as producing results of permanent value.

29. Rupam, 1922, p. 59.

30. An inscription on the southern gateway of the great stūpa at Sāñchi records that one of its jambs was made by the ivory-carvers of the city of Vidiśā.

According to Hadaway the great difficulty in accepting the method is that we can find images of modern times with all the characteristics of the tenth century or earlier. In images made certainly after the period of the *Āgamas* the tendency to imitate is severely limited to within the sphere defined by iconographical canons fixed by them and this is the reason why some modern images have the characteristics of the old. These characteristics, however, have to do with only iconographical and not with decorative details. Iconographical details have remained the same unto the present day from the time they were set forth in the *Āgamas*, but decorative details have changed immensely over fairly long periods of time and it seldom happens that an image is made which does not breathe the spirit of its time. Even the general agreement in regard to iconographical details between modern and old images ceases to exist if the latter date from a period before the *Āgamas*.

In the history of South Indian sculpture we find two well-defined periods, the earlier ending in the Pallava sculpture and the later beginning with the Chola. The cleavage between the one and the other is very marked, although the Chola has its roots in the Pallava. This cleavage is due to the sudden departure from natural realism to rigid formalism resulting from rules laid down by the *Āgamas*. Pallava sculpture coming in immediately after the art of Amarāvati as witnessed in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa reliefs shows unmistakable evidence of having been inspired by it. The qualities of the Pallava sculpture are the qualities of the Amarāvati, Mathura and Sārnāth sculptures, but they are not the qualities of the Chola sculpture. The Chola sculpture shades imperceptibly into the Vijayanagar sculpture; there is an uniformity in iconographical details. But even here we find that the qualities of the Chola sculpture are not qualities of the Vijayanagar sculpture. The latter is distinguished from the former by its ornateness and it is wider apart from the Pallava sculpture than the Chola. And within the Chola sculpture again we find an early and a later type. The feeling—which has to do with the general appearance, the facial features and the body-line, all combined—is not the same in all these cases and therefore among the numerous modern metal images which are to be found in South Indian temples there is not one which captures the old feeling that we have met with in the early and later Chola sculptures, not to speak of the feeling in the Pallava sculpture.

The circumstances of their find do not give any clue to the probable dating of our Tiruvēṭkaḷam images. They were dug up by accident from a mound, a few yards southwards of the present temple. They have neither dates upon them, nor inscriptions, the palaeographical fea-

tures of which it may be expected will possibly indicate their date. So their dating has to be done with reference to other factors. To take the image of Kirātārjunamūrti first, we have found how it does not conform to the description of it given in the *Kāraṇāgama*. It has only two hands; *Kāraṇāgama* prescribes four with the usual emblems, nice garments and ornaments. Our image has a simple loin-cloth and just one necklace. The *Āgamas* have been assigned mainly to between the ninth and twelfth centuries after Christ. They must be dated most of them, certainly later than the period of the Śaivite saints, for they insist on the recital of the *Dēvāram* songs composed by Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramūrti as part of the temple service and *Uttarakāraṇāgama* says that "the impalement of the Jainas said to have been carried out at the instance of Sambanda" must be celebrated on the seventh day of the *mahōtsavam* of Śiva.<sup>31</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the authors of the *Āgamas* based their descriptions of images upon actual examples with which they were quite familiar. An image of Kirātārjunamūrti, which is different from what the *Kāraṇāgama* describes it ought to be, must be placed anterior to its date, especially as explained previously, in the case of images intended for use in temples a departure from canons fixed in the *Āgamas* will not be allowed.

Appar lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. He was the contemporary of Pallava kings Mahendravarman I and Narasimhavarman I. He celebrates the Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple as the abode of Vēṭanār. And this fact is of very great significance in the problem of dating the image of Kirātārjunamūrti. Of all his various forms Appar associates the temple with the particular form of Śiva as hunter, and why should he call it the abode of Vēṭanār unless there was within it some visible form of Śiva as Vēṭanār? The statement of Appar, 'the abode of Vēṭanār,' then can very well be taken to indicate that there was during his time an image of Śiva as Vēṭanār within the Tiruvēṭkaḷam temple. The question now is: "Can our image be the one that Appar saw?" We have seen how it must be earlier than the image of Kirātārjunamūrti already standardised at the time that *Kāraṇāgama* which contains a description of it was written. Now, if our image should be the same as that which Appar saw, then, it must show affinities with sculpture in stone of the seventh century. When we think of sculpture in stone of the seventh century we are at once reminded of the Pallava sculptures from Māmallapuram and elsewhere. There

31. For a discussion of the date of the *Āgamas* see T. A. G. Rao, "Elements of Hindu Iconography," Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 55, 56 and 58,

is no representation of Kirātārjunamūrti among the Pallava stone-sculptures ; but we can, nevertheless, compare the qualities of our image with the qualities of Pallava sculpture in general and see if there is any agreement between the two.

In its elongated body, combining grace with strength, in its supreme elegance of composition with the chest so naturally merging into the abdomen we are very strongly reminded of the Pallava sculptures, especially the relief-sculpture of Gangādharamūrti on the west wall of the upper rock cut cave at Trichinopoly.<sup>32</sup> This temple, we know from its inscriptions, was excavated at the orders of Mahendravarman I and the principal inscription on the pilaster to the right of the sanctuary says that the sculptured panel depicting Gangādharamūrti was executed at the same time as the excavation of the temple. The necklace of Bhagīratha on the right and of another rishi on the left of Gangādharamūrti is similar to the necklace on our image of Kirātārjunamūrti. We know that the sculptures of Ellora and Elephanta are related to the Pallava through the sculptures at Bādāmi and Aiholē and it is interesting to find in the Gangādharamūrti of Elephanta<sup>33</sup> the single necklace that it has an exact replica of the necklace on our Kirātārjunamūrti. Kirātārjunamūrti has no *udarabandha* and sash below the girdle, two features already present in the Pallava stone sculptures. But it is possible that they were intentionally left out to add force to the disguise of Śiva.

Thus we see that on many points the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Kirātārjunamūrti shows unmistakable affinity with Pallava stone sculpture of the seventh century A.D. and no reason at all to doubt its identity with the image that Appar saw and the presence of which led him to celebrate the temple as the abode of Vēṭanār. Let us see how we can place this image in relation to certain metal images of known date. Vijayanagar Natēśa from Belur mentioned above is of a special type and therefore does not lie along the same plane as the image of Kirātārjunamūrti. Between Kirātārjunamūrti and Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara there is all the difference between natural realism and rigid formalism. In contrast to Kirātārjunamūrti the bust of Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara is stiff and the arrangement of the waist cloth is conventional.

The image of Arjuna differs from the Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara in the same manner as does the image of Kirātārjunamūrti. In

32. V. A. Smith, "Fine Art in India and Ceylon," revised by K. de B. Codrington, Pl. 89-A.

33. T. A. G. Rao, "Elements of Hindu Iconography," Vol. II, Pt. i, Pl. XC.



Chandraśekhara the loop in the sash below the girdle is almost rectangular, whereas it is naturally curved in Arjuna and on this fact alone Arjuna will have to be taken to a period earlier than the later Chola to which Chandraśekhara belongs. Again Arjuna has only one broad necklace and it is unlike the broad necklace of Chandraśekhara because of the greater simplicity of its ornamental details. Between Arjuna and Kirātārjunamūrti there are a number of differences in detail which point to the latter being certainly much the earlier of the two. In Arjuna the treatment of the locks of hair and the loin-cloth is much less realistic than in Kirātārjunamūrti. We have seen how in the scheme of the *tiruvāṣi* there must have been an image on either side of it from the beginning and although at the time that the image of Arjuna was dug up it was found fixed on the left of Kirātārjunamūrti it cannot have been the same as was there originally. Its ear-ornaments are, nevertheless, similar to the ear-ornaments of the Gandharvas on top of the panel to the right and left of Gangādhara in the Pallava relief sculpture from Trichinopoly and the natural curve in the sash below its girdle also resembles the natural curve in the same in the images of these Gandharvas so that we feel that it cannot be removed from them very much in point of time. The repetition on it of the four-lobed flower motive found on Kirātārjunamūrti's *jaṭāmakūṭa* lends support to this view.

The third image under discussion is that of Pārvati. There are numerous examples of her image. The Madras Museum Catalogue records seventeen. But there is no image of Pārvati which can at all be dated save by a comparison of its decorative details with such details of images already cited, Kāli No. 6 of the Madras Museum and the Kālahasti image of Sōla-ma-dēvi both belonging to the early Chola period and Chandraśekhara of Musée Guimet of the later Chola period. Being a seated figure the image of Kāli does not yield many points for comparison. Its face is realistic; its necklaces are quite simple in their decoration. There is no sash<sup>34</sup> below the girdle. The bows are attached to the girdle each on either side. This fact shows how in the case of female images already during the early Chola period they came to be treated as decorative adjuncts of the girdle. The practice of representing them as parts of the sash below the girdle did not, however, cease

34. The authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue call this sash, arranged round the hips, in terms of the lowest band in the girdle. But it is not one with the girdle and it encircles really the hips and not the waist. Therefore it would be more scientific to treat it separately from the girdle.

as will be shown later on. The image of Sōla-ma-dēvi is a standing figure. A portrait image, its features are rather strong. The treatment of the necklace is simple. The folds of the cloth are very close and there are no bows in the girdle. There is an image of Pārvaṭi<sup>35</sup> in the Madras Museum from Okkūr in the Tanjore District which is similar to Sōla-ma-dēvi in the treatment of its cloth. Its face is realistic and its necklace is similar to the lowest necklace of Kāli No. 6. On the basis of this similarity of the treatment of its cloth with that of Sōla-ma-dēvi, its simple necklace resembling one of Kāli's and its realistic face, probably this image could be assigned to the early Chola period.

Female images without sash and without bows like Sōla-ma-dēvi and Okkūr Pārvaṭi have been found in association with male images having them, e.g. the consorts of Srinivāsa No. 1<sup>36</sup> of the Madras Museum. This Srinivāsa has, like the Musée Guimet Chandrasēkhara, a broad flat series of necklaces almost circular, with one having pendants attached to it and none hanging between the breasts. The loop in its sash round the hips is much less rectangular than the loop in the similar sash in Chandrasēkhara. It is much less conventionalized and proceeding upon the basis that a more conventional a motive is, the later it should be, we will have to place Srinivāsa No. 1 before Musée Guimet Chandrasēkhara in point of time Srinivāsa No. 2<sup>37</sup> and Vishnu No. 1 of the same Museum have similar necklaces like those of Srinivāsa No. 1 and the loop in the sash below the girdle is also not quite rectangular. The consorts associated with Srinivāsa No. 2 and Vishnu No. 1, however, have the sash arrangement below the girdle with bows and loop, unlike the consorts of Srinivāsa No. 1. Speaking about the loop in the sash in these two groups of images, viz., Vishnu No. 1 with consorts and Srinivāsa No. 2 with consorts the authors of the Madras Museum Catalogue point out "that the lowest band of the girdle of the devis associated with Vishnu No. 1 and to a somewhat less extent in those of Srinivāsa No. 2 has the usual somewhat rectangular median loop though that of the central figure closely resembles that of Srinivāsa No. 1."<sup>38</sup> In Bhūdēvi of Vishnu No. 1 the loop is no doubt more rectangular than in Vishnu and Srīdēvi of the same group. But this may be due to its being of a later date. Its lower pedestal almost touching the four sides of the stand and the difference between the wheel at the back of its

35. M. M. Catalogue, Pl. XIV—1.

36. *ibid.*, Pl. III—1.

37. *ibid.*, Pl. III—2 and Pl. I.

38. *ibid.*, p. 27, para 2.

*karandamakūṭa* and the wheel at the back of the *karandamakūṭa* of Sṛīdēvi and the differences in other details<sup>39</sup> would seem to confirm the view. As for the group Sṛīnivāsa No. 2 it does not appear that the loop in the case of Bhūdēvi, at any rate, is more rectangular than it is in the central figure. From the evidence supplied by these two groups of images Sṛīnivāsa No. 2 and consorts and Vishnu No. 1 and consorts we can reasonably infer that in images belonging to the same period there cannot be much difference in the character of the loop in any two and *caeteris paribus* the loop in the sash below the girdle cannot be fully conventionalized in female images associated with male images in which it is not.

The consorts of Sṛīnivāsa Nos. 1 and 2 and Vishnu No. 1 still have realistic faces, but the elaborate nature of their necklaces which are similar to the necklaces on Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara would indicate that they are nearer in date to it than to Sōla-ma-dēvi and Kāli No. 6. Our image of Pārvati has no sash round its hips. The bows are adjuncts of the lowest band in the girdle. There is a sharpness in its facial features and the sideward thrust in its hip is far more pronounced than in the female images mentioned above. Among the Buddhist images from Negapatam there is an image of Avalōkitēśvara<sup>40</sup> with inscription in characters of the later Chola period. The Musée Guimet Chandraśekhara also belongs to the later Chola period. But there is a great difference between the two as regards the general feeling and decorative details on the basis of which Avalōkitēśvara would be placed at the end of the later Chola period. These two images with inscriptions upon them written in characters of the same period, but with decorative details widely different illustrate the theory that script changes far more slowly than decorative details in sculpture. The face of Avalōkitēśvara is characterised by a sharpness of features. The image has no sash tied below its girdle. The girdle itself appears to consist of a series of separate bands like the girdle in the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Pārvati and the bows are attached to the lowest among these bands and from it a moniliform festoon hangs in front in place of the loop in the sash. This Avalōkitēśvara breathes the same spirit as our Pārvati. The arrangement of the girdle in a series of separate bands and the sharpness of features are factors common to both and in the ornamentation on the part of the head-dress where it fits on to the head in front and in the ornamentation in front on the second necklace from the top we see

39. *ibid*, see pp. 27, 28 and 35.

40. *ibid.*, Pl. XII—3.

a remarkable similarity between the two. Thus there seems to be a valid case for our image of Pārvati also being assigned to the end of the later Chola period.

With the Tiruvēṭkaḷam image of Kirātārjunamūrti yet another marvel is added to the long list of South Indian metal images. We see in it most unmistakably an image of the Pallava days. The image of Arjuna is later than the image of Kirātārjunamūrti, but it may still be not very far removed from it in point of time. Pārvati cannot be placed earlier than the end of the later Chola period.

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# Magnetic Susceptibilities of Gases and Vapours\*

By

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## 1. INTRODUCTION.

The magnetic properties of substances in their simple form can best be studied only in the gaseous state. Unfortunately the measurements of susceptibilities of gases (with the exception of oxygen) are beset with great difficulties and when we take vapours, the uncertainties become complex and perplexing. The intermolecular action is reduced to a minimum in the gaseous state so that we might safely assume that the susceptibility of a substance in this state gives its true susceptibility. This conclusion is however true if due allowance is made in certain cases for temperature agitation. In this connection, attention may be drawn to some investigations wherein a dependence of susceptibility on the density of gases had been observed.

Glaser<sup>1</sup> was the first to doubt the linearity of the susceptibility of gases with pressure. Lehrer<sup>2</sup>, Hammar<sup>3</sup> and Vaidyanathan<sup>4</sup> have however found no such variation. Other workers have also raised difficulties from different points of view concerning the reliability of Glaser's conclusions<sup>5</sup>, although Glaser<sup>6</sup> himself has reaffirmed his observations by a further series of brilliant experiments.

\* Part of the Thesis submitted by the author to the Syndicate of the Annamalai University at the close of his tenure of research studentship.

1. Ann. der. Phys., 75, 459 (1924), Phys. Zeit., 26, 212 (1925), Ann. der. Phys., 78, 641 (1925).

2. Ann. der Phys., 81, 229 (1926).

3. Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci., 12, 597 (1926).

4. Ind. Jour. Phys., 1, 183 (1926)

5. Van Vleck, Theory of Electric and Magnetic Susceptibilities, p. 110; Stoner, Magnetism and Atomic Structure, p. 273; Krishnan, Ind. Jour. Phys., 1, 35 (1926).

6. Ann. der Phys., 1, 814 (1929), 2, 233 (1929).

It was thought interesting therefore to test the effect of surface condensation of gases on the test body in accounting for the anomaly observed by Glaser. As this work was in progress Havens<sup>7</sup> had developed a method for which he claims considerable accuracy and reliability. He finds the anomaly of Glaser even with minute traces of water vapour e.g., in the case of gases dried only over calcium chloride.

## 2. EXPERIMENT.

It was intended even at the start to measure the susceptibilities by a method which could be made independent of the nature of the test piece and the uniformity of the force in the magnetic field. Some of our earlier devices were based on the method of Guoy, a sensitive balance being used for the measurements of the force. Convection currents were the main trouble in all such arrangements. To avoid them the test body had to be made as small as possible with a minimum of enclosing space. This necessitated a non-uniform magnetic field.

(a) *Disposition of the magnetic field.* Eventually the following method was adopted. The pole pieces were placed parallel to each other and the distance between the poles was adjusted to be equal to the radius of the pole faces. Two cylinders of good soft iron 7.5 cm.  $\times$  2 cm. were placed vertically as in fig. 1 and held in position by a wooden block which was fixed tightly between the poles.

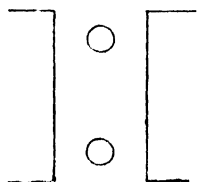


Fig. 1-a.

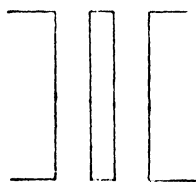


Fig. 1-b.

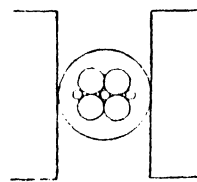


Fig. 2.

(b) *The test body.* Different types of test bodies were first studied and the form finally adopted consisted of two thin thoroughly evacuated sealed tubes  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ , 12 mm. in diameter and 10 cm. long. Two other similar tubes  $C_1$  and  $C_2$  of exactly the same dimensions were left open to compensate for the glass in  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ . The four were bound

7. Phys. Rev., 43, 992 (1933).

together to form a rigid symmetric system and were carried in a central narrow tube of glass. The system weighed in all 34.71 grams. It was suspended by a fine platinum strip of length 42 cm. and section  $60\mu \times 250\mu$  in the distorted magnetic field with  $A_1 A_2$  making  $45^\circ$  with the pole pieces as shown in fig. 2. The forces on the tubes  $A_1 A_2$  act approximately perpendicular to  $A_1 A_2$  and produce a twist in the suspension proportional to the susceptibility of the surrounding gas. A mirror attached to the central tube B helps to measure the twist by a lamp and scale.

It is normal to expect that in the usual test bodies the force on the test body is increased by the gas condensed on the surface. In our test body this effect is balanced by the condensation on the surface of the compensating bulbs. In fact because of their being open, the compensation tubes provide double the surface of the test body and thus the surface compensation is overcompensated. Thus any effect due to surface condensation can be easily checked and independently studied.

(c) *Electromagnetic retorsion.* To develop the method to its limit, it was thought best to make it a null method. This was effected by compensating the magnetic couple on the test body by an electromagnetic one. The suspension was connected to a single turn of platinum wire wound about the tubes (see fig. 2). The coil terminated in a small platinum wire dipping in mercury below. It was supported by 2 mm. glass tubes placed between  $A_1 C_2$  and  $A_2 C_1$ . As will be shown in a later section the plane of the coil is arranged to be normal to the pole faces in the position of zero torsion and during the magnetic experiments, a current passing through it in the proper direction gives an opposing couple and the current is arranged to bring the coil and hence the test body back to the initial position.

The whole system was enclosed in a long wide tube to the top of which the suspension wire of platinum was sealed. Electrical connection was made through a small tube containing mercury. The bottom of the tube contained mercury for electrical contact below. External connection was made through a sealed-in platinum wire and the external tube of mercury as above.

A bulge blown carefully on the outer tube facilitated observation of the deflections of the mirror. A convex lens of long focal length was used to compensate for the refraction of this bulge. The image of the cross wire was focussed on a photographically reduced scale of 1/10 mm. and observed by a low power microscope.

## 3. THE THEORY OF THE COMPENSATION METHOD.

The magnetic couple on the system  $A_1 A_2$  is composed of :—

(a) A couple due to the glass of the system in the surrounding medium,

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k_g - k) dv_g \quad \dots (1)$$

(b) A couple due to the displaced surrounding medium,

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k_a - k) dv_a \quad \dots (2)$$

where  $k_g, k_a, k$  represent respectively the volume susceptibilities of glass, residual air in the bulbs  $A_1 A_2$  and the gas in question. If any gas is condensed on the walls of the tube there will be an additional couple equal to

$$\iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k' - k) dv_c \quad \dots (3)$$

where the volume susceptibility of the condensed gas is  $k'$ .

Similarly the couple on the compensating tubes will consist of

(a) the couple on the body of glass

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k_g - k) dv_g \quad \dots (4)$$

(b) The couple on the condensed gas

$$= \iiint \frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k' - k) dv_c \quad \dots (5)$$

the surface area for condensation in this case being very nearly equal to twice the area in the case  $A_1 A_2$ . When the system is arranged perfectly symmetrically the couples (1) and (4) cancel exactly. The couples (3) and (5) are opposite and only their difference would be observed. There will also be a couple on the rest of the system given by an integral of the type (1) which however will vanish since the system is symmetric. The unbalanced couple will then be

$$\begin{aligned} & \iiint \frac{1}{2} \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} (k_a - k) dv_a \\ & + \iiint \frac{1}{2} (k' - k) \left\{ \frac{dH^2}{d\theta} dv_c - \frac{dH'^2}{d\theta} dv_c \right\} \quad \dots (6) \end{aligned}$$



where the first term is purely due to the displaced gas and the second due to all the residual effects.

The compensating coil of wire is arranged with its plane normal to the pole faces. If the normal to its plane makes an angle  $\theta$  with the magnetic lines force, the couple on the coil is given by

$$C = i \int H r (\sin \theta) dL \quad \dots (7)$$

where the line integral is taken along the circuit.

For a given geometric arrangement of iron, the field at any point is given  $H = F(k, \mu)$ . I where  $F(k, \mu)$  is some function depending upon the geometry of the disposition and the permeability of the soft iron. If the current is kept approximately constant it can be assumed that this function would remain constant at any point. Taking this constant to be  $C$ , we have the couple (6) given by

$$I^2 \left\{ \iiint \frac{1}{2} \frac{dc^2}{d\theta} (k_a - k) dv_a + \iiint \frac{1}{2} (k' - k) \left( \frac{dc^2}{d\theta} - \frac{dc'^2}{d\theta} \right) dv_c \right\} \quad \dots (8)$$

which can be written as

$$I^2 [(k_a - k)K + (k' - k)K'] \quad \dots (8a)$$

The electromagnetic couple (8) will become

$$iI \int c''r(\sin\theta) dL \quad \dots (9)$$

and if  $\sin \theta$  is 1 this can be put as  $piIL$ ,  $p$  being constant.

For the null position we thus get the equation

$$piIL = I^2 [(k_a - k)K + (k' - k)K'] \quad \dots (10)$$

To get the null position independent of the small variations of current the compensating current  $i$  is tapped as a definite fraction of the magnetising current  $I$  by a potential divider. Putting this ratio as  $r/R$  we obtain

$$p \frac{rI^2L}{R} = I^2 [(k_a - k)K + (k' - k)K'] \quad \dots (11)$$

an equation independent of the small variation of the magnetising current. It is to be noted that the compensating current is acted on by a

magnetic field very close to the field which causes the deflection of the tubes so that compensation is local and thus nearly independent of external disturbances and small local displacements.

#### 4. ELECTRICAL CONNECTIONS.

The actual connections are shown diagrammatically in fig. 3. The magnetising current of 8 amperes was taken from a 110 volt battery B steadied by a low charging dynamo. It was measured carefully to 1/10% by a calibrated ammeter A, and regulated by a resistance X.  $S_1$  is a

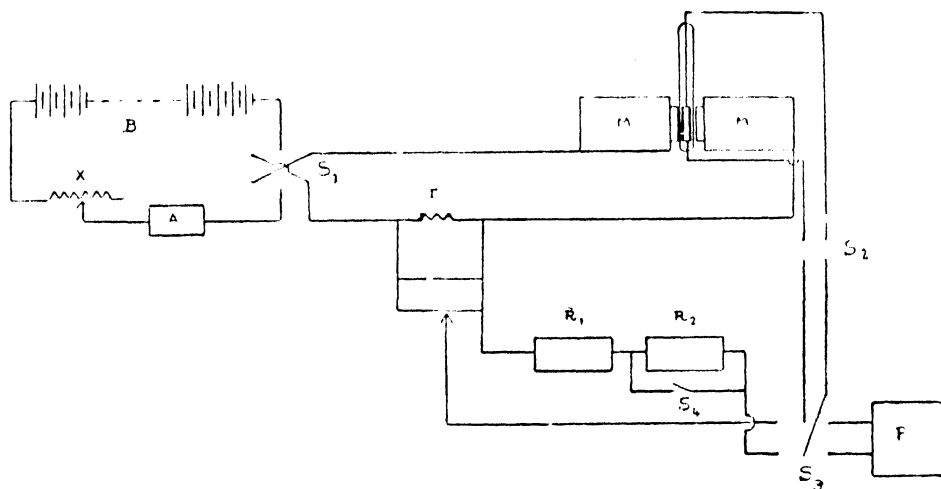
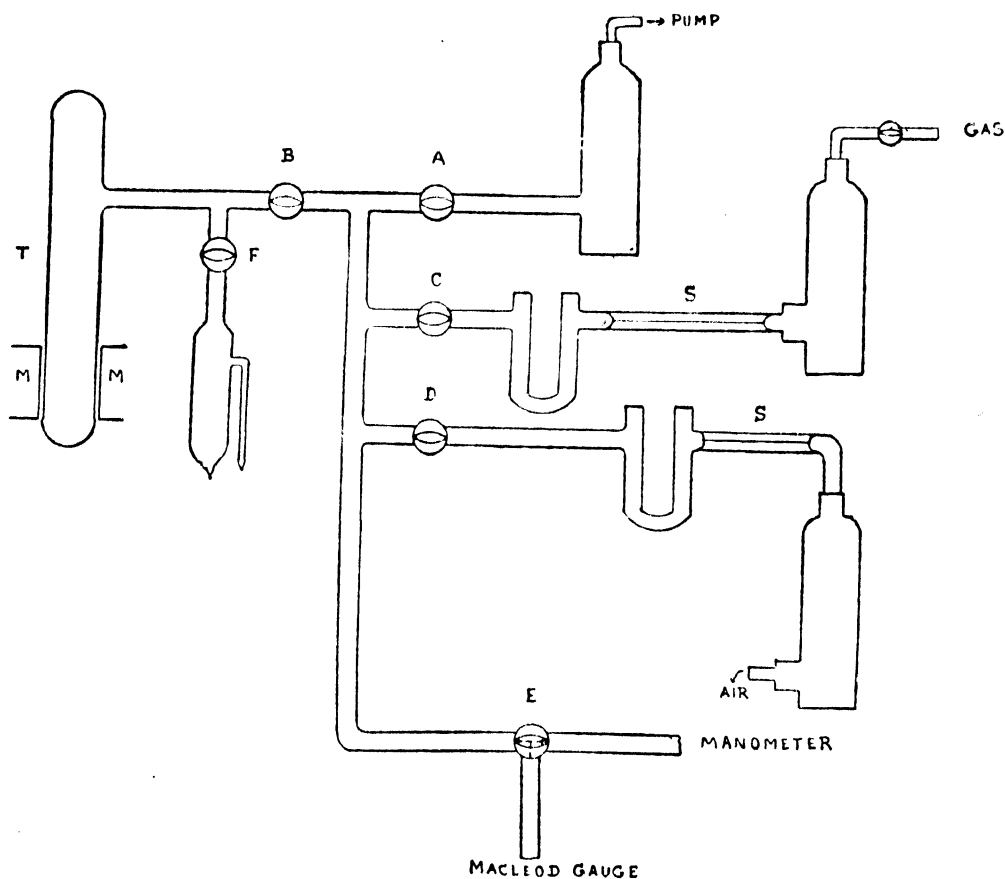


Fig. 3.

commutator for the reversal of current in the magnet M. The magnet current flows through a manganin resistance of 0.1 ohm. The potential at the ends of this low resistance served as the source of compensation current. A potentiometer calibrated to 1/100%, and of the Pye & Company's drum type with firm moving contact is used.  $R_1$  is a resistance box and  $R_2$  a single coil resistance of 100 ohms. The double pole, double-throw switch  $S_3$  was made of six mercury cups in ebonite and carefully amalgamated brass contact arms. The middle terminals were attached to the ends of the coil. The other two arms were connected to a platinum thermometer bridge to note the mean temperature of the gas using the coil itself for this purpose.  $S_2$  served for reversing the current in the coil for paramagnetic gases.  $S_4$  was used for short circuiting the coil and served satisfactorily to control the oscillations of the system in the magnetic field. The null points were read with the currents flowing in both directions of the magnet. The residual field produced less than 1/10% of the full field deflection.

## 5. GLASS CONNECTIONS.

Fig. 4 shows diagrammatically the arrangements for letting in gas into the tube containing the test system. The system of taps ABCDEF served to control conveniently the gas or vapour let into the system. Air was passed over fresh soda lime and fused calcium chloride to free it from carbon dioxide and moisture. The capillaries SS served to regulate the flow of the gases without jerking the system in T. The manometer was a wide tube 1 cm. in diameter and was read to 1/10 mm.



MACLEOD GAUGE  
Fig. 4.

To begin with the tube T was completely evacuated and flushed with pure dry air or gas repeatedly. The vacuum was usually less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  mm. The gas was let in through the capillary S and the readings were taken with rising pressures. The temperature of the inside was taken by using the platinum coil as a resistance thermometer and measuring the resistance at the beginning and end of each observation. Usually the variation was less than  $\frac{1}{20}$  of a degree.

Under proper conditions, the deflections for air were reproducible with a certainty of 1 in 1000, at pressures less than 50 cms. At higher pressures convection currents gave small disturbances. The apparatus was particularly sensitive to ground tremors. The limit of accuracy could have been pushed much further by eliminating these two disturbances more effectively.

## 6. RESULTS.

If in the final equation (11), it is assumed that the residual effects are negligible, we arrive for the necessary condition,

$$p \frac{rL}{k} = (k_a - k)K \quad \dots (12)$$

$$\text{or } k_a - k \propto r \quad \dots (13)$$

If the test bulbs are thoroughly evacuated, then  $k_a$  is zero and we will obtain the volume susceptibility of the surrounding gas to be proportional to  $r$  the resistance on the drum potentiometer or the number of turns read off on it. To test whether  $k_a$  is really zero, we can pump down so that the tube is thoroughly evacuated. When the pressure as read on the McLeod's gauge is the lowest obtainable (about 0.02 cm. in these experiments),  $r$  can be determined; even if  $r$  is not zero, due to a small value of  $k_a$ , it does not matter since it will introduce only a constant addition to the resistance  $r$  when investigations are carried on with gases at different pressures.

(a) *Air*. The following readings were taken for air at the laboratory temperature (30°C).

TABLE I.

Pressure in cms. of mercury.	Corrected reading of potentiometer.
0.02	0.00
6.65	1.17
10.90	2.19
15.02	3.24
24.49	5.13
33.97	7.23
49.53	10.54
54.74	11.37
60.14	12.58

The pressure susceptibility curve (fig. 5) shows small fluctuations of less than 1% from linearity. In all these cases the effect has been traced to temperature variation. Approximate corrections however bring the points within 1/5% of the linear value. No Glaser effect was noted although Havens's (loc. cit.) observations would seem to show the existence of the effect for gases with even traces of water vapour. It is also seen from the linearity of the curve that the residual effects and the condensation of the gases are of no account.

(b) *Carbon dioxide*. The gas was generated by the action of pure dilute hydrochloric acid on marble in Kipp's apparatus. It was passed over glass wool dusted with pure sodium bicarbonate to free it from traces of acid vapour. It was then dried over fused calcium chloride and let into the system through the capillaries. The gas was slightly diamagnetic. After measurements the tube was evacuated and the readings were repeated for air. Some readings taken with carbon dioxide are given below.

TABLE II.

Pressure in cms. of mercury.	Corrected reading of potentiometer.
0.02	— 0.00
15.66	— 0.09
31.54	— 0.18
45.65	— 0.28

It is found on drawing a graph (fig. 5) that these points also plot themselves on a straight line.

The ratio of the ordinates for a given abscissa in the cases of air and carbon dioxide works to be 33.2. Taking Sone's value of the volume susceptibility of air at N. T. P. to be  $0.0308 \times 10^{-6}$ , we obtain for the volume susceptibility of carbon dioxide, the value

$$k_{c_0} = -0.000928 \times 10^{-6}$$

The molecular susceptibility becomes therefore  $20.79 \times 10^{-6}$ . This value is very near the values obtained by other workers,  $-20.88 \pm 0.08$  of Havens (loc. cit.),  $-20.86 \pm .16$  of Lehrer (loc. cit.),  $-19.3$  of Hammer (loc. cit.),  $-21.0 \pm .2$  of Glaser (loc. cit.) and  $-20.5$  of Vaidyanathan (loc. cit.). (All these values are to be multiplied by  $10^{-6}$ ). It is believed that the error in our value does not exceed 2/5%.

(c) *Benzene vapour*. The liquid was contained in the tube P (see fig. 4) which was constructed in the form of a pipette. The filling

and emptying were facilitated by a narrow side tube. The system was initially evacuated and with the tap F open and the pump running, the liquid was allowed to boil for some time. This removed the air on the top of P. The pump connection was now closed and the vapour let into the space in T which was again evacuated and thus flushed twice or thrice with vapour before the final reading was taken. At the end the space was refilled with air and the readings repeated for comparison.

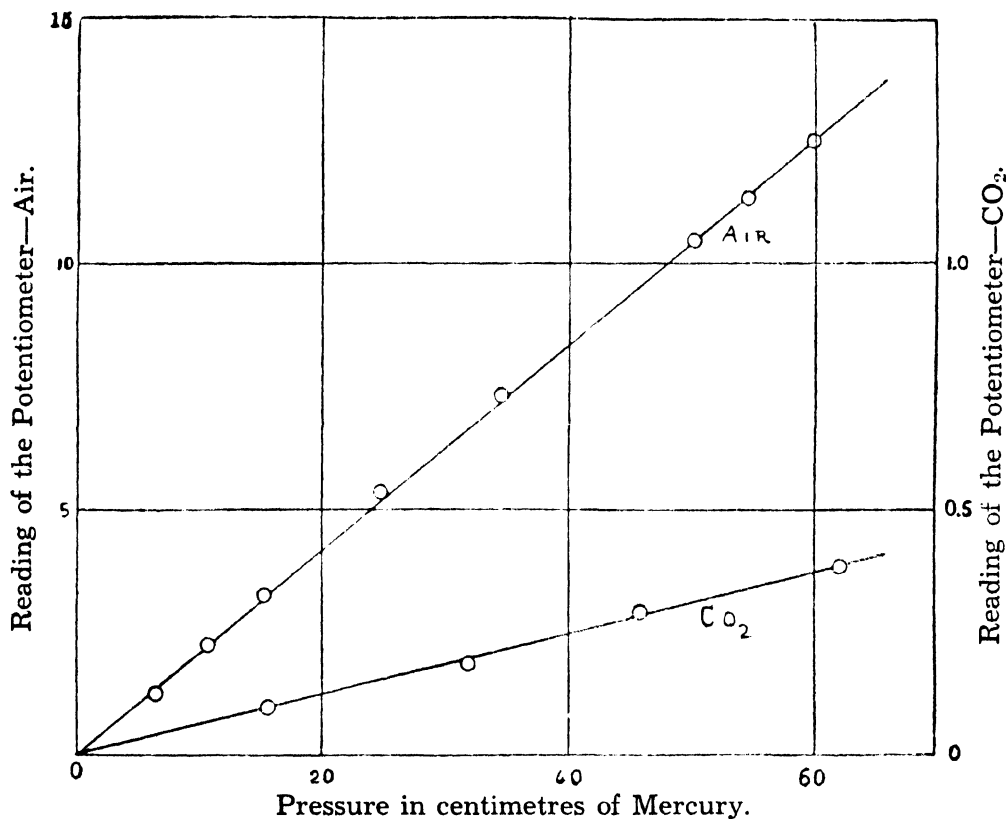


Fig. 5.

For benzene vapour, the mean temperature inside was 32°C and the saturation vapour pressure at this temperature is 13.1 cm., being the average of the results of Dejardin, Young and Regnault<sup>8</sup>. At this temperature and pressure, the deflection corresponded to -0.30 on the potentiometer.

$$\therefore \frac{K_{\text{vapour}}}{K_{\text{air}}} = .1154$$

8. Landolt Bornstein Tabellen p. 1370.

from which the molar susceptibility of benzene in the vapour state on calculation is found to be  $79.6 \times 10^{-6}$ .

In the liquid state this value works to  $54.6 \times 10^{-6}$  taking the value 0.702 obtained directly<sup>9</sup>.

Vaidyanathan<sup>10</sup> by two different methods found the value of the molar susceptibility of benzene to be  $83 \times 10^{-6}$  and  $74 \times 10^{-6}$  which is very near our value. It is surprising that such close values should have been obtained by totally different methods and measurements. It seems therefore highly probable that the large difference in the liquid and vapour values may be genuine.

## 8. SUMMARY.

A new method of determining experimentally the magnetic susceptibilities is described. Compensation is thoroughly effected for the test bulbs and the influence of surface condensation, if any, of gases and vapours can be allowed for and separately investigated. An electromagnetic retorsion is employed and the arrangement is rendered independent of small changes in the magnetising current. The molar susceptibilities of carbon dioxide and benzene vapour at laboratory temperatures are found to be  $20.79 \times 10^{-6}$  and  $79.6 \times 10^{-6}$  respectively, showing a good coincidence with the values obtained by other investigators. The experimental arrangement is susceptible of much greater improvement and accuracy.

I have great pleasure in thanking Dr. S. Ramachandra Rao for his kind guidance and co-operation throughout this work. I thank also Mr. P. S. Varadachari for help in taking observations. Lastly I thank the authorities of the Annamalai University for the award of a studentship during this work.

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9. S. R. Rao and G. Sivaramakrishnan, *Ind. Jour. Phys.* 6, 509 (1932).

10. *Ind. Jour. Phys.*, 2, 135 (1927).

# On "The Centre of Population"

By

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1. The 'Centre of Population' as worked out in Census Reports is either the centre of gravity of the population distribution or the point of intersection of the meridian and parallel of latitude which divide the population into two equal parts. It is the former definition that is in vogue in the United States of America. Till recently it was believed there that the centre of gravity satisfied the "minimum-aggregate-travel" property,<sup>1</sup> that is, it was the point for which the aggregate distance travelled by all persons travelling straight to it was a minimum. The mistake in this was pointed out by Professors Gini and Galvani<sup>2</sup> and others; in fact it was shown<sup>3</sup> that if  $T_i$  denotes the population at the point  $(x_i, y_i)$  in a plane, and  $(\bar{x}, \bar{y})$  is a point in the plane such that

$$\sum T_i \cos \alpha_i = 0, \quad \sum T_i \sin \alpha_i = 0$$

where  $\alpha_i$  is the angle which the direction from  $(\bar{x}, \bar{y})$  to  $(x_i, y_i)$  makes with the axis, then  $(\bar{x}, \bar{y})$  satisfies the 'minimum-aggregate-travel' property. However a suitable working method for the determination of this point is yet to come, though particular cases have been worked out. For example it is known now that for a unit population at each of three points A, B, C in the plane, P is the required point where

$$\angle APB = \angle BPC = \angle CPA = 120^\circ.$$

and that for a unit population at each of the vertices of a quadrangle, the point of intersection of the diagonals will be the centre. In this paper I discuss the position of the centre for three points  $A_1, A_2, A_3$  with unequal populations.

1. Fourteenth Census of the United States of America, 1921, Vol. I, p. 32.

2. *Metron* Vol. 8 July 1929: "Di Talune estensioni dei concetti di media ai caratteri qualitativi."

3. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* Vol. 25 (1930) p. 448.



2. If  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  be the populations at the points  $A_1, A_2, A_3$  respectively,  $P$  the centre of population, and  $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3$  the inclinations of  $PA_1, PA_2, PA_3$  to the  $x$  axis, the following equations must be satisfied.

$$T_1 \cos \alpha_1 + T_2 \cos \alpha_2 + T_3 \cos \alpha_3 = 0 \quad \dots (1)$$

$$T_1 \sin \alpha_1 + T_2 \sin \alpha_2 + T_3 \sin \alpha_3 = 0 \quad \dots (2)$$

But these are precisely the conditions that forces  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  acting along  $PA_1, PA_2, PA_3$  should be in equilibrium. We know, in this case, that there exists a triangle with its sides representing the forces in magnitude and direction, so that if  $\theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3$  are the angles of that triangle, we have

$$\angle A_2PA_3 = 180 - \theta_1; \angle A_3PA_1 = 180 - \theta_2; \angle A_1PA_2 = 180 - \theta_3 \dots (3)$$

$$\lambda = \frac{\sin \theta_1}{T_1} = \frac{\sin \theta_2}{T_2} = \frac{\sin \theta_3}{T_3} \quad \dots (4)$$

where  $\lambda$  is the reciprocal of the diameter of the circum-circle of the triangle, that is,

$$\lambda = \frac{2\sqrt{S(S-T_1)(S-T_2)(S-T_3)}}{T_1 T_2 T_3} \quad \dots (5)$$

where

$$2S = T_1 + T_2 + T_3.$$

When  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  are given,  $\lambda$  is got from equation (5) and the angles from (4), no ambiguity arising in the determination of the angles from their sines as they are the actual interior angles of the triangle. Equation (3) then gives the angles subtended by the sides at  $P$ , so that  $P$  is obtained as the common point of three circles.

For example, let  $A_1, A_2, A_3$  represent Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras so that  $T_1 = 1486, T_2 = 1161, T_3 = 647, S = 1647$  in thousands.

It is found on calculation that  $\lambda = .0006428$  and  $\angle A_2PA_3 = 72^\circ 50'$ ,  $\angle A_3PA_1 = 131^\circ 13'$ ; it will be found from a map that the centre lies near Vizagapatam.

3. Suppose  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  cannot form the sides of a triangle so that  $T_3 \geq T_1 + T_2$  (say). It is then easy to see that the most populous place  $C$  is the centre of population; for the aggregate distance travelled to any point  $O$  other than  $C$  is

$$\begin{aligned}
 & T_1 \cdot AO + T_2 \cdot BO + T_3 \cdot CO \\
 & \leq T_1(AO + CO) + T_2(BO + CO) \\
 \text{i.e. } & \leq T_1 \cdot AC + T_2 \cdot BC
 \end{aligned}$$

The above argument applies also to a polygonal distribution where

$$T_n \geq T_1 + T_2 + \dots + T_{n-1}.$$

4. In the case of a unit population at each of the vertices of a  $2n$ -gon whose diagonals i.e., joins of opposite vertices are concurrent, an argument similar to the previous one leads us to the conclusion that the common point of the diagonals is the centre required. If the diagonals are not concurrent, it is probable that the centre of population lies within the polygon formed by them.

5. Although the discussion here has been on the problem of the entire population moving to a common point, the method used may be employed to fix a suitable venue for a conference ; of course the position of the centre depends on the number of delegates expected from each place which replaces the effective "population" in such a problem.

In Vol. I of the Indian Census Report 1921, the centre of population for India has been given as lying in the Jubbalpore District of the Central Provinces at Lat.  $23^\circ 36'$  N and Long.  $80^\circ 4'$  E but there is no mention of the method of calculation. It is highly probable that the calculation has been in accordance with the second definition referred to in the introduction.

Before concluding I wish to thank Mr. A. Narasinga Rao for his kind guidance in the preparation of this paper.

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# Tamil Classics and the Impact of Two Cultures

By

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## SECTION (i)

The soul of every race is best revealed in its culture ; its truest expression is found in its literature. All progress is impelled and maintained by the inexorable natural factors of hunger and sex, which in advanced communities ultimately blossom in their literature in the shape of love-lyrics and war-songs. And the history of the Tamilian culture in the classical times is no exception to this general rule. In fact we do find all the Tamil Sangam-classical poetry or literature was always divided into the two broad categories of Aham and Puram. Aham of course stands for and represents all poetry that relates to and expresses love-psychology and its concomitants. Similarly Puram deals with the whole range of poetry that bears on all human interests outside the home.

In the domain of Sanskrit literature, it is laid down that the aim of all poetry must be to promote one or more of the fourfold purusharthas, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. And this rule is rigorously enforced and adhered to in all classifications of Sanskrit poetic literature ; whereas in the earliest extant Tamil classics we are confronted with the characteristic Tamilian ideal of dividing all literature into only Aham and Puram. Of course any poetry may be brought under one or more of the purushartha category ; and thus even the Sangam Tamil classics may be so arranged as to seem to conform to this fourfold division. But the Tamilian convention of classifying all human interests under the two large heads, viz., domestic or private and social or public life of man, seems to be more natural and really comprehensive. The Sanskrit fourfold division would seem to be logically somewhat deficient. For instance, education or culture for its own sake is not held out to be as important and deserving of attention as Artha or Kama while it will not readily fall into any of the four heads. On the other hand, this fourfold Sanskrit classifications would not militate against, but would easily fall into their proper places in the all-comprehensive twofold division of literature upheld by the Tamil grammarians. This in fact appears to be almost one of the earliest and most important points of difference in the distinctive outlooks or points of view upheld in the classical literature of the Tamils and Sanskritists respectively.

More than two millenniums ago these two great streams of Aryan and Tamilian cultures have met ; and their confluence has since been flowing regularly and harmoniously ever since, fertilising the whole southern continent known as *Tamilaham* to its advantage. *Tolkappiam* may safely be taken as the *Prayag* at the head of this confluence of the waters of these two ancient cultural streams of *Baratha-Bhumi*. It enshrines in itself all the evidences of the first mixing of the two cultural streams, which may be likened to the confluence of the clear, dark waters of the *Yamuna* and the muddy but fertilising brown stream of the *Ganges*. At this distant day of over two thousand years after the fusion of these two cultures, we are like those who stand at the *Calighat* or *Howrah* on the bank of the united-single river roughly over two thousand kilometres away from *Prayag* where the waters first meet and mix together. At *Calighat* we cannot and need not try to separate the water in the united *Ganges* severally into the original nascent native *acquae* of the *Yamuna* and the *Ganges* respectively. We might, however, and must if we wish to, go to *Prayag* to visualise the actual confluence of these two streams, and to study the dynamics of the uniting waters with a view to gauge the currents and guide our floats on this united stream in its steady sea-ward flow. Shorn of the metaphor and in plain language, it means that anyone who wishes to have some idea of the characteristics of the two great ancient Indian cultures may advantageously dip oneself into this masterpiece of the greatest Tamil grammarian, and profit by a diligent critical study of this book from an antiquarian point of view. The picture of the Tamilian culture with its distinctive traits and essential and characteristic features herein attempted is only one of the results of such a study of *Tolkappiam*.

On an impartial critical study of this book it will not be difficult for us to see at a glance that the genius of the Tamil race in that dim distant past, so far as it is projected in the earliest Tamilian classical literature extant, appears to be essentially simple, self-impelling, peaceful and individualistic. Whereas that of the Aryan culture would seem in marked contrast to be complex, uncompromisingly aggressive, cohesively organic and corporate.

Let me here try to elucidate and elaborate these points somewhat more concretely. We shall first take the Aham or domestic division of Tamil poetry. It requires no great effort of scrutiny to discover that the Tamils of those times were already a people with advanced civilization and settled home and public life. They formed a homogeneous community settled from time immemorial in their own native home known as *Tamilaham*. All the fantastic school-book theories ascribing

a foreign origin to the Tamils as an immigrant scythic or Dravidian race, entering from outside India either through the north-western or north-eastern mountain passes, and gradually driven southward by the successive waves of the Aryan hordes that came after them, are as unwarranted as they are opposed to the internal evidences found crystallised in the Tamil literature. The ancient Tamil classics now proved to be over two thousand years old, expressly identify the home of the Tamils to be a region bordered by the Venkata Hills in the north, and extending southward very much further into the Indian Ocean than Cape Comarin and the Island of Ceylon, forming one contiguous country where the Tamil people were the Indigene. In fact one of the poems in Kalithogai expressly speaks of a deluge causing the subsidence of a large slice of land in the south of Tamilaham, and driving the survivors from the submerged lands to colonise in the northern territories of their great Tamil continent. The consciousness of the Tamil people as evidenced by their literature from the earliest times has always been that they were the aboriginal natives of this southern continent, and the Aryans came to them from northern India and were freely admitted as peaceful settlers with the consent and hospitality of the Tamil people. The old classics frequently refer to the Aryans as Vada-Aryar or the Aryas that came from the north, and their language Sanskrit is always known to the Tamils only as Vadamozhi or the language of the northerners in contrast to Tamil which was known as Thenmozhi. Now I just mention this here only to emphasise the fact that the Tamils lived quite a happy peaceful life in the maritime southern continent with all that characterised the life of such a maritime race. They lived in peace undisturbed by alien enemies. They had no need incessantly to be thinking or preparing and organising for war and military exploits, unless it were only internicine warfare among the clans incidental to the tribal life of the Tamilian people themselves.

Whereas the Aryans in upper India formed but a small civilized minority-community in the midst of primitive and barbarous peoples always hostile to the Aryan settlements. Naturally therefore the primary need of the Aryans in their new settlements was always to fight down and combat these barbaric hordes of uncivilised non-Aryan races, and to consolidate, preserve and promote their position, culture and civilization. Hence the need of the Aryan was ever to be vigilant and warlike. In the earlier stages his whole attention was obsessed by this need for conquest and aggrandisement. The result was he had no leisure to indulge in domestic peace and family pleasures. His one need was his self-preservation. This made him to organise his family essentially on lines of a coparce-

nary for strength as a federal unit. He always needed more fighting hands, and naturally desired therefore to enlarge and multiply the male element indispensable to a small community incessantly fighting hostile folks of savages and barbarians. The Aryan in those circumstances naturally cared more for his male progeny than for his sexual happiness. He therefore married more for progeny than for love. Preserving his racial purity was a dominant necessity for the then Aryan. He therefore ordained that girls of his own or neighbouring alien race should be bought or borrowed for marriage to ensure and enlarge his pure Aryan sept. He had neither leisure nor need to give any importance to the factor of mere love as such in the matter of his family unions. Hence we find the Aryan making marriage more a racial sacrament and a means of enlarging his ever-expanding joint-family or coparcenary with a view to strengthen his fighting power to combat and keep down his enemies.

The Tamilian on the other hand lived in peace, unassailed by any hostile enemies in his own native home in the midst of his fertile lands that yielded him both plenty and peace alike. He therefore cared more for the happiness of his home. He gave greater thought to and made the element of love as a condition precedent for a happy life-union. The Tamil literature inexorably insists upon mutual love and courtship as a *sine qua non* for all Tamilian marriages, while the Dharma sastras almost leave no room for any would-be bride-groom to see the girl he was to take as his bride. He could meet her only at the time of marriage and had to love whom he was marrying. The Tamilian was after a happy home-life and so sought to marry only whom he loved, and whose equal love for him was also well ascertained before the union. Not that the Tamilian loved his issue less than the Aryan. The former's love centred around his fiance first and foremost; and the issue of such mutual love was naturally loved by the loving parents. In short the ancient Aryan married for love of progeny; whereas the classical Tamilian loved his progeny because of his love for their mother.

The Tamil patriarch took such a rosy view of and laid such an emphasis upon a happy home-life that he came to insist upon voluntary union between the sexes entirely and exclusively based upon mutual love. Love and courtship he conceived to be the natural and necessary condition precedent for all love-unions in solemn wedlock. This deep rooted Tamilian sentiment came therefore to be reflected in all the classic Tamil poetry of yore. Kalavu (கலவு) or love and courtship is emphatically insisted on as a *sine qua non* for all Karpu (கர்பு) that is marriage and wedded love. Both Tolkappiam and all Tamil classics recognise this Tamilian sentiment, and unequivocally enforce its observance as a religiously indispensable prerequisite for all unions

between sexes. The rigour of this Tamil ideal of love before marriage is so strong as not only to make the grammarians expressly lay it down as an inviolable axiom or rule of propriety in their classical codes, but also to compel even a master-poet like Kambar to deliberately alter in his poetic reproduction of the most sacred Sanskrit epic the original plots and incidents in order to make them conform to this unalterable ideal, convention and sentiment of the Tamil race. Not only love before marriage, but also undying and undiminishable love through life after marriage is what the Tamil literature enforces. The finest superbly spiritual axioms and postulates known as *Thurai* (துரை) in love-literature simply confirm and integrate this cardinal root principle of the need for and emphasis on enduring love for all sex unions. For instance *Iruvayin othal* (இருவரின் ஒத்தல்) or unchangeability in love (i.e.) Equal love both before and after marriage is held out to be one of the primary and principal elements insisted on for all unions. Man's love for his mate must be so genuine as ever to endure for all time through life irrespective of all other factors which might otherwise attract his first attention to her, such as her youth, beauty, grace or charm of any kind that may not ever last but wither with her age and decay. Ascertained and assured undying love and deathless fidelity, unalterable affection and undiminishing admiration between lovers only for each other's sake must alone and always warrant wedlock. The exquisite and undying corner pillars of the four-square edifice of conjugal life are said to be love (அன்பு), hebetude or Madam (மடம்) or inappetency, tenderness (சுரயல்), and transparent candour (இயல்பு) between the married couples. *Anbu* (அன்பு) is described as the feeling of indispensability, that is inability of each to live without the other; *Madam* (மடம்) is said to be blindness of either to any faults of the other mate. These are held to be at least as ideals ever to be striven after in sex relations.

There are also numerous references in classical Tamil literature to the effect that the early Tamils considered no formal ceremony or rite of any kind to be necessary for a Tamilian marriage. Love first and love for ever was the only requisite to warrant wedlock, and to sustain and enrich the happy home life. The futile and almost frantic attempts of some Brahmin or Brahmanised grammarians to harmonise the irreconcilable and artificial Aryan institutions and conventions with the Tamilian conventions and ideals in this realm of love are too transparent and too well-known to need enumeration here. The so-called eight Aryan marriages are most of them misnomers. It would be a travesty and abuse of language to call the *Rakshasa* and the *Pisacha* forms a marriage in its accepted sense. And even the much boomed *Gandharva* form ensures no abiding union at all; it simply represents any casual com-

ing together of persons of the two opposite sexes, which might be even for only once, with no thought whatever of keeping up the union or any subsequent relations between them. To correlate and compare this passing sexual explosion with the Tamilian ideal of Kalavu ( காலவ ) or soul's hunger for its mate is an atrocious sacrilege, and must be dismissed as a mere fantasy of some heated and morbid imagination. The other five Aryan marriages do not stipulate or prescribe for any love as an indispensable condition for wedlock. In fact love is not at all adverted to as an essential prerequisite in these Aryan unions ; and it is also patent that they are planned and praised as acceptable sex unions even where there may never be any scope for the play of love as such at all.

#### SECTION (ii).

So far we dealt with the inner or Aham phase of progress, whose main spring is sex love ; and from the early Tamil classics we find it resulted in love unions and fructified in the establishment of a happy home even in the prehistoric Tamilaham. We shall now try and scan the same old Tamil literature to get into the external or Puram phase of ancient Tamil civilization where another motor-main based on the other great natural factor of hunger meets and reacts with the sex-impulse to impel and evolve further progress of man in the scale of civilization. Progress does not stop with the formation of sex unions and separate homes. The families soon develop into communities ; and tribal and social life is only the outcome of sex unions, when they cease to be merely inevitable animal reactions, promiscuous and ephemeral in their nature, in response only to the imperious and fitful sex calls, and when they gradually evolve to be abiding and elevating factors in human life. Where the more persisting hunger co-operates in conjunction with the play of the sex-impulse it helps man forward to organise and speed up progress. The northern Aryans and the southern Tamilians had both evolved advanced social and political life long before these two great cultured communities came into contact. A dive into the Sangam classics would help us to track down traces of social and communal life of the prehistoric Tamilians uninfluenced by the impact of the Aryan culture. A careful scrutiny and study of this literature will reveal the influences of the differing environments on the social institutions developed by the Aryans in the Gangetic and by the Tamilians in the Cauvery and Pahruli valleys respectively. We find for example evidences in these classics establishing the fact that both in the family and social organisations the peaceful Tamil and the fighting Aryan tribes reached fundamentally differing tendencies and developments in their several environments and different circumstances.



Here again the Tamilian lacked the stimulus for organising his family always as a fighting unit; for, he was not to expect and fight down hostile surrounding hordes as the Aryan had. He therefore developed in his environment the individualistic family system. No sons or grandsons could claim any interest in the properties of a Tamilian, whether they were his own self-earnings or his inheritance from his parents. The Aryans accentuated the advantages of a joint family life securing solidarity and strength. Whereas the Tamilians emphasised the value of individual efforts and full expansion and efflorescence of the soul of individuals. The whole conception of joint interests of the coparceners in all family-properties is a characteristic of the Aryans, conceived and perfected by him in his then environments. The Tamilian could not fancy any such joint proprietary family system for the simple reason that each Tamilian married whom he loved for his own happiness; and his children naturally followed the parent's example, and set up their respective individual homes. The result was the Tamilian-family was individualistic, while that of the Aryans was coparcenary.

The same reasons that caused this difference in the family organisations of the Aryans and the Tamilians operated exactly in the same manner to create the distinction in the social organisations of the two societies. A society is generally the out-growth and expansion of only the home or family. The Aryan organised his community into a close-knit well-established caste-system. It was more than a federalised organism equipped and well calculated to consolidate its position against all attacks of hostile elements, especially in those early epochs. Its organisation was such as would ensure against all disintegrating forces both from within and without. It was particularly suited to conserve the racial purity against onslaughts of uncivilised warring tribes and also to preserve and promote its own wealth, resources and fighting strength.

The Tamil community on the contrary could only be a federation of different tribes and clans as well as of crafts and landed or trading classes with perfect social equality and without rigid barriers and bars between them by virtue of mere birth. The Tamilian communal clans and classes closely approximated to the trade-guilds and the individualistic society in mediaeval Europe, and was at the antipodes of the well-organised caste-bound racial community of the Aryans in upper India.

### SECTION (iii)

There only remains now the last phase of socio-political life to consider before we conclude this paper. The military technique and the martial codes represent the most advanced aspects of the Puram or the external side of the Tamilian cultural life. In this field of human acti-

vity as well influences of environments and circumstances of the early communal life of these two races have markedly impressed themselves in a manner, that even after two or three millenniums of coalescence and harmonised joint evolution, we can light upon their distinctive prehistoric racial characteristics in their wonderfully advanced and refined early literatures. The entire Sangam classical literature would afford us a very wide and fertile field for studies of this kind and would more than amply repay the pains of many a diligent research student. I shall not seek to dilate on details in this short paper, where my sole object is only to invite an interest and stimulate a zest for research-work in the region of unexploited mines of early Tamil classical literature. I shall here attempt therefore only to outline a bare skeleton, leaving the picture to be filled up and finished by further industry and greater diligence.

Already in the earlier parts I have invited attention to the peculiar circumstances that shaped the different lives and cultures of these two races in their different environments. The Aryans in those days had to fight incessantly and persistently, first to preserve and then to promote his race and his family, hearth and home. He battled to exterminate the uncivilized neighbouring hordes, and to conserve and consolidate his superior civilization. This continued need for military organisation and life led him steadily and inevitably to think that war was something laudable in itself, and to organise peculiar and special institutions to maintain and sedulously advance the martial spirit in his communal life. And in course of time the Aryan developed a dominant military class with very high rank and enviable privileges. The kshatriyas thus enjoyed kingly and princely rank, and received the adulations of all other castes including the priestly Brahmin at the top. The warrior even shared with the Brahmin the privilege of a teacher, if not of the pontiff as well, on many an occasion. A very appreciable section of the Aranyakas and vedic lore eulogises and redounds to the glory and credit of Rajanyas as the warrior clans were then called. The Aryan Dharma sastras came to give sermons on the cult of war, and to extol its glories, holding it up as a righteous duty of all members of the kshatriya caste. They prescribed to the whole kshatriya community a career of continued conquest. They preached to them as their highest virtue a career of unquenchable discontent and illimitable greed of conquest and grab of other's possessions. This was the Aryan ideal for the hero-warrior, emphasised and exhorted even in their highest ethical codes to be incessantly and religiously striven after.

Whereas the early Aryan had incessantly to fight for the extinction of races and hordes hostile to his culture, the pre-Sangam Tamilian had

neither the motive nor the need to cultivate the taste for aggressive warfare. While the alien Aryan fought in the north for racial aggrandisement, his Tamil contemporary in his native southern home fought, when he did, only for honour and in self-defence. In marked contrast with the Aryan zeal for wars of expansion and aggrandisement, the early Tamilian evolved his ethical maxims denouncing and discountenancing all passion for or pleasure in fighting for its own sake. Of course he welcomed war and even warmly advocated martial glory, but only for and in defence of honour and home. Tirukural more than any other extant ancient Tamil classic approximates to the rules of Tolkappiam as much in point of time as in its content and style, in matter as much as in manner. Valluvar furnishes the best Ilakkiam for the Ilakkanam laid down by the Tamil Panini. Kural is the mirror best reflecting the ethical and cultural life outlined and skeletoned in Tolkappiam. Tolkappiam gives the points and lines, while Tirukural supplies the curves and colour for the picture of the early Tamil culture. The skeleton and anatomy are in the former, while the body and physiology are portrayed in the Kural. The reference particularly to chapters 86 and 87, on Defiance (தூக்கல்) and worth of war (புகை ஸாதிசு) in Valluvar's Kural would vividly and forcibly illustrate this mental and moral attitude of the early Tamils in contrast to that of the early Aryans towards war and war psychology. Defiance or passion for fighting is discountenanced for all at all times and unreservedly. This is denounced as an accursed vice. Nevertheless, the Tamilian was neither a coward, nor an effeminate lover of ease. For, he stands up for a fight to a finish whenever honour or defence of home is involved. Even the Tamil women's bravery is a constant and favourite theme fervidly sung by the bards of the Sangam age. Their songs reveal this fine sense of honour and the laudable zeal for the martial crown and laurel in all just wars, shared and cherished alike by both the men and the women of the ancient Tamilaham.

These differences in the ideals both in love and war of these two cultured stocks of ancient India led naturally to their characteristic different outlooks on life, and to differing schemes and systems of their several social institutions, political organisations and moral maxims. The Tamilian was a born optimist, full of humour and buoyancy, joyously clinging to the rosy side of life, prone to be happy in family life and inclined always to revel in righteous yet merry life on earth. The Aryan grew to be a sullen cynic, sour to pleasures of every kind, hating all existence as a misery to be avoided, preaching asceticism therefore as the only panacea for all ills of life and vehemently given to other-worldism.

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# The Tamil Drama

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(*Continued from page 192, Vol. II, No. 2.*)

## MODERN TIMES

After a long sleep for centuries, the Tamil Drama showed some signs of revival in the eighteenth century. A special variety of drama called "Kūthu," was becoming popular everywhere. Men of letters also began to pay more attention to this branch of literature, so that we find a number of attempts being made at writing dramas. People no longer continued to look upon this art as something to be condemned as they used to, in the previous centuries, when they were completely preoccupied with their religious questions. Moreover, the influence of the West was slowly beginning to be felt in this direction. By this time in Bengal, their theatre was being thoroughly transformed as a result of the contact with western traditions. But in the case of Tamil Drama, this influence has never been as much or as great as is desirable. It still continues to be dominated by the traditions of Samskrit Drama, in many ways. As is to be expected, when the dramatic revival took place in the eighteenth century, the model, and methods of Samskrit Drama were followed largely. The great ancient classics, "The Rāmāyana" and "The Mahābhāratha" were ransacked for themes for plays. The works of Samskrit dramatists were translated or adapted in large numbers. Even now, this is being done. In the absence of a regular complete Samskrit play, scholars hunt out small farces, and one act plays, which have not been translated till now, and render them in Tamil. Naturally, with this enthusiasm for Samskrit plays they have imbibed all their traditions also. They cannot understand how a play could end in a tragedy; or how a drama could be written without a king or queen or somebody in high position and authority, being the hero or heroine in the play. They simply cannot imagine any dramatic composition without a clown in a fool's cap and motley apparel, tumbling about and grinning all the while. And of course, there cannot be any drama without music. But latterly new experiments are being made, which one hopes, will help in breaking the old traditions, and in injecting new life and spirit into our

drama. As in all other spheres of life, we must keep abreast of the times, and there is no use, in looking backwards to old forgotten things, and glories long past. Our way of progress lies along greater and more complete understanding of the principles and developments of Western Drama, and assimilating them. Swadeshism might be alright in trade and commerce, but in matters of art and culture it will prove to be suicidal ultimately, if applied and followed.

We shall now, notice briefly the dramas written after the revival. Ceylon and Jaffna in particular, has always been a centre for Tamil literary men, and has itself produced many eminent men of letters. It took the lead in the writing and production of Tamil Dramas. The well-known story of Rāma and Sita was dramatised by Swaminatha Pillai as "Rāma Nātakam" and by Khanda Pillai as "Rāma Vilāsam."

Arunāchala Kavirāyar of Shiyali did the same here and produced his famous, and even now popular, "Rāma Nātakam." There is nothing extraordinary about the literary merit of these plays, except the last mentioned, which is in the form of "Keerthanais," or "songs" in various "rāgas" and "tālas," with very little prose; this set the fashion for dramas, and a number of plays were written in this manner. As the theme and story were well known, no one cared about the form, and the more the music, in the play, the better it was appreciated.

The "Mahābhāratha" provided themes for these plays:—Ganapathi Aiyar's "Apimān Nātakam," "Athi Rūpavathi Vilāsam"; Nāgesa Aiyar's "Arjuna Nātakam," "Supathirai Nātakam"; Rāmachandra Kavirāyar's "Bhāratha Vilāsam" and "Sakunthalai Vilāsam"; Ramaswami Aiyar's "Alli Nātakam"; Murugesu Aiyar's "Kurukshētra Nātakam"; and many others, most of which are not easily available in good print.

The Philosophic virtues themselves are characters in certain plays, as in the old English morality plays. Mappana Mudaliar's "Sōmakēsari Nātakam" and "Parimalākāsa Nātakam," are instances of this kind. Features and characteristics of a crude and rough kind of farce, are found in Chinnathamby's "Nondi Nātakam," and "Anirutha Nātakam." Attempts have also been made at writing something akin to historical dramas. Kanda Pillai's "Kandi Nātakam" and Rāmachandra Kavirāyar's "Rangoon Sandai Nātakam" are instances in point. Another historical play is "Katta bomman thurai Nātakam," which is even now popular in certain districts of South India. There are a number of other dramas by various playwrights, such as Muthukumara Pula-

var's "Thēvasahāya Nātakam" and Anantha Barathy Aiyangar's Bāga-vatha Samastha Kāndha Nātakam," and many others.

Thus all possible sources in Hindu mythology were tapped, and dramas written. Whatever was omitted or neglected by these writers, others who came later, seized eagerly and made them themes and produced plays. In the latter part of the last century, many of the plays mentioned above were acted in one form or other, in most of the villages and towns in our land. The proprietors of dramatic troupes themselves used to write dramas and enact them. If they did not actually write plays, they had their own acting versions. No one seemed to care much for the literary merit of the productions in those days as at present. What they wanted was something to see, and some songs to listen to. These they got in plenty.

But, an exception must be made in the case of "Nandanār Charitra Keerthanaigal" by Gōpāla Krishna Bhārathi of Ānathāndavapuram. Though written in the form of "Keerthanaigal" it was intended to be a drama, and it was also acted as one, as it is now in our own day. It is a single instance of a work in this kind, whose literary merit is absolute and unquestionable. There are wonderful stanzas, and lines in the songs, which are marvellous, for their sheer beauty, and melody. As a drama the work is not well done, but as a poetical work, its place is abiding. There are any number of versions of the play, now, but the songs sung in the performances are Gōpāla Krishna Bhārathi's. They cannot be improved. The fashion that he set up in this play, namely, the dramatisation of the life of a saint, has been imitated widely, and a number of plays have been written about almost all the saints in Saivite and Vaishnavite sects, from "Appar" to "Thiruppānāzhwār."

With the spread of English education, people came to realise the crudeness and uncivilized nature of our stage. The most ardent among them made up their minds to do their best to reform the condition of things. Most important among them, are the late Mr. V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri, Head Tamil Pandit of the Madras Christian College, and the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai, the author of the immortal poetical drama "Manōnmaniyaṁ." The former was a graduate, and his love of Tamil was so great, that he wanted to improve the language and its literature in all ways possible. In the field of drama, he wrote three plays, "Rūpavati," "Kalāvati," and "Mānavijayam," with judicious admixture of prose and poetry. Their literary merit is well acknowledged, though they are rarely acted. He wrote a work on dramaturgy, called "Nātaka Iyal," and has brought into this work, all his knowledge about the art of drama, in all its different aspects. But unfortunately, he could

not complete his life-work, for death, claimed him, at the very early age of thirty-three.

Among those who have been evincing great interest in the development of our drama, we must mention Rao Bahadur P. Sambandha Mudaliar, who has written more than twenty dramas. Though a Judge of His Majesty's judiciary, he has found time and leisure to devote his attention to this work. We can say that he has done yeoman service to the cause of Tamil Drama. He has translated Shakespeare as in his "Amalādityā," "Magapathi," "The Merchant of Vānipura," and "As You Like It" (in Tamil); he has taken mythological themes, as in "Wedding of Valli," "The Curse of Oorvasi," and "Harischandrā"; he has also written original plays like "Manohara" and others; but whatever he has done, he has done with an unerring instinct particularly with regard to their fitness for stage representation.

Being his contemporaries, it is rather difficult for us to judge his contribution to Tamil Drama, correctly. But, whatever might be the merits or demerits of his productions as literature, there is not the slightest doubt that they are eminently stage-worthy, and that after all is the great test of dramas, which are intended to be acted. He has attained great heights of tense dramatic situation in "Manohara"; and in "Eye of Love" and "Demon Land," the comic scenes are really well done. The tendency to repetition of situations and dramatic methods, may be well excused in one who has written such a large number of plays. If only many more people like Mr. Sambandham would take to this line, then undoubtedly we can be sure that Tamil Drama will come to its own; and be on a level with the other theatres in India.

There are a number of professional troupes to enact these dramas. Very often they do not have any written play, which they follow. The actors, and actresses—a good number of women also have taken to the stage as a career—trust to their inspiration of the moment, for their speeches. This would be alright if the people taking part were highly educated and well trained in impromptu dialogue, who could be left to make their speeches *ex tempore*. But, as a matter of fact, the actor, or actress on our stage, is one who has turned to this profession, because he or she could not make a decent living in any other walk of life, and could sing well the most popular songs among the people. The dramatic troupes are almost usually managed and conducted by uneducated, avaricious people, whose one and only idea is to make pots of money. They want only such actors and actresses in their companies, who would be popular, and whose appearance on the stage, would show good receipts

at the box-office. They do not want any one who could really act well, but only those who could pander to the taste of the ordinary theatre-goer. So, it really ends in a vicious circle. Our drama cannot be improved unless first rate actors come forward to act in our plays; but they will not be entertained and encouraged by the theatre managers, unless they are able to satisfy the conditions which they would impose, namely, capacity to sing, and not capacity to act. The only way out of the difficulty seems to be, in men with University education coming out to run theatrical companies; and they must employ only those who could also act well, and never those who could only sing. The solution lies in this: the actors like Shakespeare must be able to give what the audience wants *and* something *more*, i.e., really good acting.

This introduces the problem of music on the stage. Our professional troupes do not distinguish between dramas and operas. Music is the thing, and the dramatic dialogues are nothing. It is usual to advertise the name and fame of the man who accompanies on the "harmonium"—that wonderful instrument which has singly contributed a great deal to the ruin and decay of music in our country—who would also frequently be the "chorist";—in the parlance of the handbills, advertising the performances—the "harmonist," as he is called, will occupy the very centre of the stage, dressed at his best, exhibiting all the medals he might possess or might have borrowed, banging on the reeds of his harmonium, and shouting at the highest pitch of his voice.

Sometimes, he will play on two instruments at the same time—and of course then the remaining part of the stage also will be filled up—and such occasions are really great for the theatre-goers. What is to happen to the drama and the acting? The hero and heroine in the play would be good singers, and so, they will engage themselves in a very engaging duet, with the "harmonist," who is also the "chorist," which would draw forth repeated applauses from the audience! Neither the actors nor the people in the auditorium care for acting. They want only songs. It is not unusual for people in the gallery,—or the floor—to be more correct—to shout to the hero or heroine, asking them to sing some particular song, which would have no connection with the play, or the context. The request must be immediately complied with, failure to do which, would result in pelting of stones kept ready for the purpose, and the raising of a loud hue and cry which would make it impossible for the play to proceed. If the actor, and the theatre-manager are plucky—which is very rare—they would call in the aid of the police, who would have to clear out the people by baton charges; and regarding the play, naturally it stops during the disturbance. Music must be given only a



subordinate place in the drama, if our drama should progress ; or musical dramas, could be performed separately ; otherwise our dramatic performances become bad music performances, by unscientific amateur-musicians and naturally all acting goes by the board.

They must also follow texts for their plays, and rehearse thoroughly everything before hand for their performances. They should try to enact new and original dramas, and introduce them to the people, and thus create a taste for such plays. Gorgeous and expensive scenes and screens should not be made to take the place of realism in acting. A careful study and close examination of the methods of dramatic production in the West should be undertaken, and useful lessons could be drawn for guidance and improvement.

The audience in our performances is the most important factor which determines a number of vital things connected with our plays. As everywhere else, its numbers and patronage are very necessary for the financial success of any performance. It understands this fact—only a little too well—and begins to dictate as to what should be done and what should not be done. It is composed of all elements, the majority consisting of poor workmen and factory labourers, who are not very polished in their manners. They begin to assemble in their places hours before the time advertised for the show to begin, and would loudly clamour for the play to commence. It never stops to think even for a moment the inconvenience and difficulties, in the way of complying with its wishes, two or three hours before the time. So, the play has to begin, and it does very often. Not content with this victory, it would insist on stopping the hero in the midst of his dialogue—that would in no way mar the effect of the speech, which would be generally pointless rant—and making him sing its favourite songs. The play would be “Harischandrā,” and the scene might be the burning ground ; but all that simply does not count. The hero, I mean, “Harischandrā,” must sing the latest national song on Gandhiji’s fast, or else there will be trouble. So, the hero forgets that he is “Harischandrā”—he never would have remembered it—for the time being, and begins the song called for and finishes it amidst thunderous shouts of approbation, and very often cries of “en core.”

Very frequently, the action of the play might be held up for a long time, by calls for songs from the audience. It does no good to blame the poor people who constitute the audience, for this state of affairs. They are so badly off, that they want to get the maximum pleasure for the money that they pay. The words spoken from the stage are generally so inaudible and meaningless, that they do not want to hear them,

and ask only for songs and more songs. The theatre serves the purpose of the music-hall also for these people. What ought to be done in the circumstances is, attempts should be made to educate them, by slight innovations which they might not resent, and gradually make them appreciate a drama by itself. This cannot be done, unless the actors follow some texts and try to speak out their lines loudly and distinctly so that everybody could hear them well. Good and effective acting must be made to take the place of music, which is sure to be appreciated.

A few words about the stage would not be out of place. Whatever might have been the size, and convenience of the ancient Tamil stage, now, at present, there are very few really good theatres. Even in district headquarters one cannot say that we have commodious and convenient theatres. Very often it might be a temporary shed, with a roofing of cocoanut or palmyra leaves. The auditorium would be under the heavens. The platform for the stage would have been made of earth dug out of the space in front, which would be the pit, where chairs would be arranged for the gentry. Another platform of earth work, behind the pit, would be the "floor," where the commonalty is to sit and enjoy the show. The question of acoustic properties of the hall does not arise, because there is no hall. The property available in many of the theatres is strictly limited to four screens, or curtains, representing a portion of a forest, a street, a durbar-hall, a garden and occasionally there will be a fifth one for a temple. All dramas are expected to require only these screens and nothing more. If any drama should, then it is no play. Without these, no play would be appreciated, or could even be thought of. Time, and historical truth and accuracy are of no account whatsoever. No one would mind "Arjunā" and "Subadhrā" making love in what would appear like a very up-to-date and modern park, with fountains and springs and electric lights in various colours representing different flowers. The street might represent a thoroughfare in ancient "Ayōdhyā," but one should not worry if the houses on either side look too much like elegant modern dwellings in Bombay or Calcutta. One should not be surprised if in such a scene, representing a street in the days of the "Mahābhāratha," a Baby Austin should be seen to emerge from under a portico, driven by a lady smoking a "cigarette"!

That apart, there is nothing like a green-room, or a separate suit of rooms for retiring after an actor finishes his part. The mystery of the make-up will have to be done in the presence of everyone—there will be any number of people who would be loitering about the place for fun—and everything will be in a confusion behind the curtains. Not un-

usually, managers of these dramatic troupes would be compelled to provide seats for distinguished visitors even on the stage itself !

Since the beginning of this century, a number of amateur dramatic associations have sprung up everywhere in the important cities of the presidency. They set out to remedy the intolerable condition of our stage. But gradually after starting and working for sometime, they found out that they were also beginning to be affected by the contagion. Amateurs trying to imitate the professionals, especially in singing, became the fashion of the day. The result was, that they fell a prey to the temptation, which they wanted to avoid and remedy. The reason is not far to seek. The members of these associations are mostly lawyers, teachers, merchants and others, who have some other occupation, and who take to this, only as a sort of hobby or recreation. However noble or generous their aim might have been at the beginning, it is not to be wondered at that they themselves took to reproducing the worst defects on the professional stage. In addition to this, these "Sabhās" came to be torn asunder by internal quarrels and squabbles, as a result of one member or one party trying to have the control of the whole association in his or its hands, features which are characteristics of all democratic organisations. In these struggles for power and supremacy in the working of these associations the original idea was entirely lost sight of. Instead of inspiring hope and confidence, these "Sabhās" have made people doubt whether anyone can do anything at all for our stage.

The way of advance is quite clear. Qualified young men from the Universities must take to the stage as a profession. They must study the history and development of their own theatre, as also the western dramatic traditions and methods, and make a harmonious combination of the excellences in both, and remedy the defects in our drama. If this is done, once again, the ancient art, would regain its lost position ; and be an influence for the good of all.

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# Tamil Journalism

By

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In the world of to-day, Journalism occupies a high and honoured place as an institution of great power and endless possibilities. Though a comparatively recent invention of man, its achievements are astonishing. Whether as the stout champion of the poor and the down-trodden or as the fearless critic of irresponsible government, its influence has always been on the side of social justice, and political liberty. Its disinterested and scholarly evaluation of works of art and letters has led to the creation of high standards of taste and appreciation. Between the blind orthodoxy and reasoned faith it has been more often than not a sponsor of the latter. It would be, however, a mistake to assume that journalism is always an instrument of progress. Much of it is marred by rank partisanship and extreme reactionary or revolutionary ideas. We cannot say that its judgments on political, economic and social questions are always sober, sound and unbiassed. To admit this is simply to recognize the great truth that all human inventions have their weak as well as strong sides. Nevertheless, considered as a whole, journalism has done much to remove the obstacles in the way of human progress.

The object of this article is to give a brief account of the growth of Tamil journalism. That Tamil is the oldest language spoken in South India, that it is capable of expressing the finest shades of thought, and that it is elegant and euphonious are facts attested to by Indian and Western scholars. The best part of the ancient Tamil literature, except for the commentaries and prefaces, is poetry. Not only subjects of love and heroism, of beauty and morality, but grammar, lexicon, principles of politics, economics and philosophy are composed in metrical form. This common feature makes it impossible for the man in the street to study and understand even a small portion of Tamil literature. With the widening of the intellectual horizon of the Tamilian consequent on the contact of India with the western civilization, with his growing interest in the government, commerce and agriculture of the country, with the kindling of his boundless curiosity to know of things of the earth and the heavens, he demands books, written in simple prose style that

can be read with profit by all and sundry. In response to this demand Tamil prose literature has come into being in recent years. Tamil journalism has come in the wake of Tamil prose literature.

We can classify Tamil journals under six heads : viz., first, literary journals, primarily concerned with the improvement of Tamil language and the enrichment of its literature ; secondly, journals devoted to the expounding of religious truths ; thirdly, journals dealing with problems of social reform ; fourthly journals published as communal organs with a view to uplift the status and culture of the community concerned in the social scale ; fifthly, periodicals and dailies mainly devoted to the furnishing of news from far and near and to the educating of public opinion in political and economic matters of current interest ; sixthly, purely light and humorous variety, dealing with serious problems in snappy bits, in an apparently inconsequential manner, with the help of crisp cartoons which pitilessly expose the fundamental absurdity and ugliness of things.

Adverting first to the literary journals pure and simple, we may notice here, the four most important publications of this variety. They are the "Sentamiḷ," "Sentamiḷselvi," "Tamiḷ-poḷiḷ" and "Kalānilayam." The first is the oldest and the most authoritative of the four. It is the organ of the well-known 'Madura Tamil Sangam' founded by that generous patron of Tamil literature, Panditturai Thevar, a scion of the noble family of Setupatis of Ramnad. Through the medium of this journal many Tamil classics which had laid hidden in moth-eaten cudjan books had seen the light of print. Results of painstaking and scholarly researches into the authorship and date of old Tamil compositions were published in "Sentamiḷ." The back numbers of this journal are valuable to the student of South Indian history, for they contain several learned contributions on the history of the 'Three Crowned Kings' of Tamiḷ-aham by eminent archaeologists and historians. The other three journals of this class referred to above are of recent origin. They are not in any way inferior to "Sentamiḷ" in the quality of their contents, or in the standard of scholarship, or in sobriety of judgment, or in their extreme usefulness. These four journals, have by their very nature, an appeal only to the learned few and cannot therefore be regarded as popular.

Religious journals constitute an important section of Tamil journalism. That religion is still a vital influence in the South Indian society is a fact that one who runs may read. The Vishnu Purana says that when the whole of India is plunged in the starless night of ignorance and sin the grey dawn of faith will break in the South. South India is the cradle

of Saivite and Vaishnavite cults of bhakti. The philosophical systems of Sankara, Ramanuja, and of Sivāchāryas have sprung up on the soil of South India. South India has been the scene of activities of the apostle, St. Thomas, and the later missionaries. Islam has also made many converts in S. India. In order to keep the torch of faith burning in this unbelieving world, associations have been founded in Madras and in the mofussil. About a quarter of a century ago a society called The Saiva Siddhanta Samājam, was founded to educate the public in the principles of Saiva philosophy known as Siddhanta. This Samājam publishes a journal entitled Siddhāntam. The veteran Tamil scholar and philosopher, Swami Vedachalam, the great master of an inimitable style which flows with an untutored ease and jumps into melodious cascades, is the editor of the periodical called "Gñāna Sāgaram" which is unrivalled for its clear expositions of the fundamentals of Saivite philosophy. "Lōhōpakāri" is another journal published in the interest of religion. To counteract the spread of the iconoclastic influence of the weekly known as "Kuḍiyarasu" in Chettinad, the journal "Sivānēsan" was started. There are also journals published for popularising Vaishnavism, of which the "Vaishnavan" may be mentioned as typical. Islam and Christianity are not without their own journals. "Dār-ul-Islam" and "Saif-ul-Islam" among Muslim journals and "Satyanēsan" and "Tiru-Irudaya-Dūtan," among Christian journals may be particularly referred to here. "Poornachandrōdayam" and "Ramakrishna Vijayam" broadcast the doctrines of the Theosophists and the Ramakrishna Mission respectively.

Recent years have seen the rapid growth and the equally rapid decline of organisations of freethinkers and militant rationalists. The "Kuḍiyarasu" has sounded the trumpet of war against the "Abbot of Unreason" in South India. It tilts its lance of reason against blind customs, unreasoned superstition which passes by the name of religion, idol worship, priestly mediation between God and man, sacred books, social injustice and a hundred other things. Though the journal is useful as a necessary corrective of existing evils of society and religion, it has condemned itself by substituting abusive and vituperative language for cold reason and sober argument. "Kumaran" and "Saṇḍamārudam" are also consecrated to the cause of "Self-Respect."

Anybody who has closely watched the course of events in South India for the last ten years would have been struck with the mushroom growth of communal organisations. The cause of this phenomenon is not far to seek. The progress of the "Justice" party and its elevation to power in the Government of Madras and the passing of the communal

G. O. have awakened the communities which have lagged behind in education and general culture. With the spread of education among these communities, leaders have risen to find out ways and means for the uplifting of their respective groups. The first step taken in this direction is to convene a conference of the leading men of a particular community and to start a journal to voice forth their grievances. In this manner communal papers have come into existence. "Vanniyakula Mitran," "Yadhavakula Mitran" and "Pandyakula Mitran," are the few communal papers which are typical of the rest of this class. To carry the light of learning into the dark corners of their community, to broaden its outlook, to stimulate a live interest in political matters, in short, to enable it to take its legitimate place in the scheme of things are the objects of these communal organs. They need not be regarded as centrifugal in their tendency, as every upliftment of a community is but a step towards a united nationhood.

The journals described above have only a limited appeal. The only papers that cater to the generality of men are the news sheets and politico-economic journals. The secret of their appeal is twofold. First, they are written in the plainest and the most unaffected style—with a large sprinkling of slang and colloquialisms—which does not much differ from the spoken language. Secondly, they deal with subjects of current interest which equally affect all. What affects all must have an interest for all. Besides these matters, man has a weakness for mere news as such. This class of newspapers has outdistanced the others mentioned above in their popularity. Acquaintance with the western political thought and systems of government has engendered in the heart of the Indian, an yearning for similar forms of government. National independence and individual freedom have become the noble ideals to be striven for. Thus, with the awakening of national consciousness, its demands have become insistent. The publication of these news along with pungent comments on them has become the vocation of the newspapers.

The earliest papers of this class to be started in South India were "Janavinōdhini" and "Dinavartamāni." They were not pronouncedly political or newspapers, but they published articles of general interest. They perished in the course of time. Of the daily papers which are in circulation to-day "Swadesamitran" is the most popular as well as the oldest. It was founded in the year 1880, by the late G. Subramania Iyer and a friend of his. But soon the friend dropped out and the former became its sole proprietor. In its infancy it was a weekly. Subramania Iyer spared no pain to move about the length and breadth of the Tamil

country to make the new-born paper popular. It may not be an exaggeration to say that much of the later expansion and fame of "Swadesamitran" was largely due to the fostering care and the unstinting labour of Mr. Iyer. So soon did the paper establish itself firmly in the favour of the people that it came to be published thrice every week for some time and finally daily. This great founder and the first editor of "Swadesamitran" passed away in 1915. Now, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar took up its editorship.\* "Swadesamitran" is to-day, the premier Tamil daily of South India. In talking of this paper one must not forget the services of the immortal poet-patriot, Subramania Bharati. It was during his connection with the paper as an editor that he published in it most of his soul stirring poems and essays and stories. Bharati's contribution to the reputation of this paper cannot be over-estimated.

The Boer war broke out in the beginning of this century. The South Indians watched its progress with keen interest as many of their fellowmen had settled in Africa and their fortunes were involved in it. There was an increasing demand for everyday news about the war. In answer to this there sprang up a crop of cheap newspapers. A paper called "Piepatrikai" was published and sold at a pie per sheet. Another cheap paper was published at Pondicherry under the name of "Puduvai." Though these papers disappeared soon after the artificial demand for them ceased, they may be remembered as having been the forerunners of the quarter anna papers like "Sudantira Sangu," "Gandi" "Vedikundu," "Vikāṭa-Chakram" etc.

The Russo-Japanese war was also indirectly responsible for further growth in the number of newspapers. Madras had hitherto been the centre of journalism. Now papers came to be issued from local centres like Trichinopoly, Salem and so on. "Sarvajanamitran" was begun in Tinnevely. Of the other papers which saw the light of day during this period in the mofussil were "Amirdavasani," "Draviḍābimāni" and others. The Great War unlike the other two wars served as a ruin of many of the newspapers. As the war of 1914 affected almost the whole world, and as it was fought for four years unintermittently, the economic condition of the world became so completely dislocated that prices of all commodities shot up. The materials indispensable to the printing and publishing trade became tremendously costly with the result that many newspapers succumbed. When the war was drawing to a close,

\* As the article is going through the press the sad and shocking news that Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar is no more reaches us.



a new political party was founded by Dr. Nair and Sir Theagaraja Chettiar under the name of South Indian Liberal Federation of which the "Dravidan" became the organ. In recent years Dr. Varadarajalu Naidu, began his "Tamil Nadu." A year or two ago the daily called "India" was started. Both these dailies are doubtful champions of nationalism.

"Swadesamitran," "Tamil Nadu," and other papers mentioned in the paragraph above are dailies. It will be a serious omission if we do not remember in this connection the Tamil weeklies which are published from Madras. These weeklies usually give a resume of important news that appeared during the previous week. Besides, they contain many other attractive features which make them popular with women and children. Short stories, interesting articles on art and letters, music and drama, essays on the rights of women and child welfare, fashion hints and culinary notes, pictures and photographs, are the stock in trade of the weeklies. Some of the outstanding Tamil weeklies of Madras are the "Swadesamitran," the "Ananda Bodhini," the "Navasakti" and the "Tamil Nadu." Of these weeklies, "Ananda Bodhini" is essentially a literary journal and "Navasakti," a vigorous advocate of the rights of labourers.

Indians are generally accused of over seriousness. But this charge cannot hold good to-day as is proved by the number of funny magazines that have come into existence in recent years. These publications are an index of the western influence on Indian tastes. The demand for them is increasing in a phenomenal manner. "Ananda Vikatan" is the one that has made an honest approach to the high standards set by English Journals of fun and frivolities. By its live wire style, its high quality of wit which never degenerates into rank vulgarity or cheap clownishness, its wonderful and infinite variety of topics, its robust nationalism and aggressive war against social injustice, and, last but not least, its masterly and vigorous caricatures and cartoons, it has endeared itself to thousands of Tamilians. It is no exaggeration to say that the "Ananda Vikatan" is the "Punch" of India. "Kumara Vikatan," and "Prasada Vikatan" may be mentioned among the journals of this class.

One defect in Tamil journalism is the lack of specialised journals devoted to the cause of historical and scientific research. This is, perhaps, due to the general practice of teaching arts and science subjects through the medium of English and also due to the difficulty of finding suitable equivalents to the technical terminology in Tamil words. Steps are being taken to coin exact scientific terms in Tamil which will help in a great measure the publication of scientific researches in Tamil

journals. The only Tamil journal of the specialised class which is in circulation in the Tamil land for some years is "Krishikan." It is devoted to agriculture as the name implies. As South India, even more than the whole of India, is essentially an agricultural country there is ample use and justification for this journal. Its object is to make two blades grow in the place of one. It suggests improvements in the traditional method of cultivation by the application of mechanical ploughs and other tools, by selection of seeds, by the rotation of crops and by scientific manuring. It also teaches how small holders can eke out their slender earning from land by poultry and dairy farming and organized marketing. Kitchen gardening is being done in a haphazard manner in South India and its untold possibilities are brought home to the agriculturist. Plant and cattle diseases which make serious inroads into the meagre resources of the poor peasant are sought to be removed by scientific remedies. It is unfortunate, however that in spite of the teachings of the "Krishikan" the Tamilian peasant is so much a slave of custom that he does not seem to be much profited by them.

We may conclude this article with a passage from the poems of Bharati, "the tallest tree in the magic garden of (Tamil) poesy." He was burning with enthusiasm for the spread of every branch of modern knowledge into the nook and corners of Tamil society. His noblest ideal was the Tamilian, grown into full stature, manly and kind, accomplished in all the fine arts and equipped with all the available knowledge of things of the earth and the heavens, every inch a perfect man. His patriotism did not make him blind to the virtues of western civilization. Though he flared into living coals of poetry against the political bondage of India to the British, he still realised the need for popularising their sciences and arts and literatures in India and he gave expression to this sentiment in a manner that he alone could do. "It is time that western treatises on sciences are done in Tamil, and works of undying fame created. What boots us to repeat in privacy old tales of forgotten fame? If our scholarship is really great it must receive the sanction of the 'Amphictionic league of final appeal.'"

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# Literature, Learning and Libraries in Ancient India

By

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Literature and learning are of very great antiquity in India ; but libraries cannot claim a similar antiquity. Several centuries had elapsed between the composition of our earliest literature, namely the Vedic hymns and the compilation of those hymns in any tangible form. We should surmise that when the early Vedic seers composed their hymns, they never had even the faintest idea that they could be reduced to writing or be handled in the form of manuscripts or books. They could not have imagined that their hymns could be anything but vocal. Teaching and learning also, therefore, were necessarily by word of mouth. The father or the teacher repeated the hymns a sufficient number of times to his sons or pupils and made them do the same till they were well fixed in their memory. Thus were literature and learning imparted from one generation to another. The process continued even when our literature increased and included within its scope not only hymns but also lengthy epics, laws, and religious, moral and philosophical treatises. So then, the first period of our literary history is one in which knowledge was preserved solely on the mental tablets of human beings. It may be termed the pre-inscriptional period.

Now, the inscriptional period dates from the time writing began to be prevalent in India. No one knows exactly when the art of writing was first introduced into this country. But it is almost certain that it could not have been much later than the ninth or the eighth century B. C. Certain allusions in *Vasiṣṭha Dharma Śāstra* to a knowledge of the art of writing in Vedic times and the occurrence of a few technical words like *akṣara*, *kāṇḍa* etc., in the later Vedic hymns show that writing was not altogether unknown in the Vedic period, although we cannot be sure how early or how wide-spread the art was in the country. Further, words like *lipikara* or *libikara* occurring in Pāṇini's grammar also prove that writing was fairly well-known before the great grammarian's time. Again, the testimony of *Tripitāka* is unmistakable in this respect. There are numerous passages in that work which make reference to an extensive use of writing when the Buddhist canon was com-

posed. *Lékhā* (writing), *lékhāka* (writer) are used in two books. *Jātakas* speak of private and official letters and royal proclamations and make mention of wooden writing boards. The *Mahāvagga* refers to writing as one of the subjects of school curriculum. All these references prove that writing was fairly prevalent before the Buddhist period. The prevalence of the art, however, does not mean that all the existing literature was reduced to writing. As a matter of fact, it is very doubtful whether even a few of them were written down.

The original purpose of the introduction of writing into this country seems to have been purely practical. In the ninth and the eighth centuries B. C. the Vanias of the West Coast who had been carrying on a prosperous trade with the Phœnician and Arab merchants borrowed alphabets from them for keeping their commercial accounts. That knowledge eventually passed into the courts. Kings made use of it for private and official correspondence as well as for making royal proclamations. Much time elapsed before the art was adopted by scholars and pandits for literary purposes. Even when they did adopt it, its use was limited for the simple reason that the early materials for writing as well as the method of writing were unsuitable for making lengthy inscriptions. Short passages could be inscribed on rocks, slabs, wood, bamboo etc., which were the materials used in those days for writing; but the attempt to reduce to inscriptional form all the Vedic hymns, the Epics, and the Upanishadic treatises would have been an impossible task. It was rather easy for a great emperor like Aśoka to get his short edicts inscribed on rocks or send his messages on stone tablets. But it would have been too much even for Aśoka to reduce all the existing literature into inscriptional form. Moreover, even when the art of writing became rather wide-spread in the country, our scholars and sages preferred the traditional method of carrying sacred knowledge in their heads. They considered it superior to any other method. Memory was a surer material for them than even rocks, and they possessed it to a remarkable degree. As long as they could find enough pupils for the purpose of imparting their knowledge orally and fixing it in their memory, they did not care to write it down. The second period of our literary history also, therefore, is one in which we have very few manuscripts or books. Literature was mainly in oral form, and instruction too, purely oral.

The third period may be termed the period of *ola* (palm leaf) manuscripts. Palm leaf was a much better material every way for writing purposes than any material which had hitherto been used. It was thin and pliable. Incision on it by a sharp material was compara-

tively quick and easy. The impression was permanent, and the material not difficult of preservation or use. It could be carried about in convenient form. Till the introduction of paper into this country, it remained the best material for writing purposes. It was also the cheapest. Even to-day it has an extensive use in many parts of the country. It is not easy, however, to ascertain when *ola* was first made use of as a writing material. It could not have been much later than the Aśokan period. In all probability, Aśoka himself made use of it to a certain extent. It is rather difficult to imagine that all the extensive correspondence of emperor Aśoka with his friend King Devānampiya Tissa of Ceylon as well as his own princes and officials in various parts of the country could have been carried on such uncouth materials as rocks or stone tablets. Better materials like palm leaves or barks of trees cut into convenient size or even some crude form of paper must have been used. But unfortunately, they being perishable could not stand the wear and tear of ages and therefore have not come down to us like his rock and stone inscriptions which were meant to be permanent. It is too much to expect of such fragile materials to last through all these long centuries when even inscriptions on wooden boards had perished. It is certain, however, that if writing had been widely prevalent in the third century B. C.—there is a great deal of evidence that it was—there would have been an extensive use of such facile materials like barks of trees, palm leaves and crude paper. References to occasional use of ink in the late centuries B.C. are another additional proof that the writing materials were not merely rocks and slabs, but such materials as on which the use of ink was possible. However, palm leaves being more easily available than other materials, must have been the most popular.

Now, how did the prevalence of the art of writing affect our literature and learning? There have been, no doubt, early attempts to reduce the existing literature into written form. The earliest of such attempts must have been made at least by the late centuries of B. C. In all probability, many of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Epics etc., were in manuscript form before the beginning of the Christian era, although there could not have been a super-abundance of such manuscripts. The bulk of the early Buddhist literature must also have been in written form before the fifth century A.D. The fact that Chinese travellers like Fā-Hien and I-Tsing who were in this country between the fourth and the seventh century A. D. found enough manuscripts and books to carry home with them is sufficient evidence that literature in written form was fairly abundant in India at that time. Moreover, many of the universities and other centres of learning which flourished between the fifth century B. C. and the eleventh century A. D., at any rate the most

important of them like those at Kapilavastu, Rājagṛiha, Pāṭaliputra, Benares, Ujjain, Taxila and Nalandā seem to have possessed a fairly good collection of written materials particularly in the form of manuscripts and books for the use of teachers as well as students. How large these collections were, we cannot be quite sure. In all probability, they might not have been very big, for books and reading did not occupy as important a place in the curriculum of instruction in those days as they do to-day. The traditional oral teaching and learning was still in vogue, and it was the main medium of instruction. Scholars whether they be teachers in universities or private individuals keeping schools in their own homes still preferred the traditional method of carrying and imparting sacred knowledge. Even when literature was reduced to writing scholars considered it their duty to memorise all literature and also to instil it in the memory of their pupils by verbal repetition. The result was that although written manuscripts were in fair abundance, there were more 'living manuscripts' who knew the sacred scriptures by heart than there were copies of sacred works. As a matter of fact the remarkable power of memory of our ancients made many of them despise writing as a means of preservation of sacred knowledge even when they used writing for other purposes. Every learned man was expected to store up his knowledge in his memory. By way of digression, we may remark that when we consider the lack of reading habit of literate Indians at the present day as compared to the well-formed reading habit of the people of Western countries as well as of Japan, we wonder whether we have not after all inherited the literary vices of our forefathers without acquiring any of their literary virtues. We have lost the wonderful power of memory which they possessed and have not cultivated the habit of acquiring knowledge and information through reading. However, whether our ancients liked their knowledge in written form or not, it was inevitable that an extensive and continual use of the art in other spheres of life would affect the traditional method. As the popularity of the art increased, not only was all knowledge reduced to writing, but also there were several reproductions of original manuscripts. The process of written manuscripts replacing the 'living manuscripts,' however, was a gradual one and at no period of the literary history of India, not even the present day, has the latter been entirely displaced by the former. There are still many men in the country who could recite the sacred scriptures from memory.

A question which is of great interest and importance in this connection is whether such abundance of literature and learning in the country had the effect of producing great libraries. There are no doubt many who assert that organized libraries were a special feature of the

country even from the very early times. Some of them go to the extent of saying that the University of Taxila which flourished in the age of Gautama Buddha and his contemporaries possessed an important library. They base their theory not on facts but on the assumption that writing had been an immemorial art in India and therefore it might have been possible for libraries to have existed in the time of Gautama Buddha. And there is no doubt of a possibility of the existence of libraries at such an early date if the assumption of the antiquity of writing beyond the tenth century B. C. could be proved. But we have already seen that there is hardly any solid proof for the existence of the art of writing in India beyond the eighth or the ninth century B. C. If that is so, writing could not have been an art old enough to produce big libraries in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. Moreover, it is not only a knowledge of writing that is needed to produce libraries, but also proper writing materials as well as a liking on the part of scholars for written form of knowledge. With regard to materials, we cannot be sure exactly when barks of trees and palm leaves which were the earliest materials suitable for book-making in this country came into wide use. It could not have been much earlier than the late centuries of B. C. or the early centuries of the Christian era. If that be so, we must assume that writing before the Aśokan period was done mostly in crude materials like rocks, slabs and wooden boards. And it is not likely that there could have been extensive written literature in these materials. Much less then is the probability of big libraries made up of inscriptions on those materials. Again, we have seen that even when the art of writing became widely prevalent and more facile materials being used, our scholars were more anxious to preserve their knowledge in the memory of human beings than on writing materials. Such an attitude on the part of scholars was not at all conducive to a multiplication of manuscripts or building up of libraries. Furthermore, we do not generally find our kings and emperors of the pre-Muslim period taking an active interest in collecting manuscripts and books or building up libraries. There were many among them, no doubt, who were real patrons of literature and learning. They invited learned men to their courts and listened to their words of wisdom, but did not show the same enthusiasm for collecting or preserving written form of literature. If either our kings or learned people were keen on preserving manuscripts, perhaps so many of them would not have been carried away by foreign travellers. Lastly, with the passage of time, learning ceased to be democratic. It gradually became the monopoly of one class of people. The sacred works passed from the hands of their original owners into the custody of professional priests who took zealous care that no one except themselves had any knowledge of them. They kept learning al-

most entirely esoteric and resisted all attempts of layman studying it. Reproduction of manuscripts or creation of libraries was not to their advantage. Manuscripts there were, of course, but those that got into the custody of professional priests hardly saw the light of day.

Under such conditions as these, it was hardly possible for the country to have had flourishing libraries. The only libraries we had before the Muslim period were those connected with the ancient universities and our surmise that they were not of any considerable size cannot be far from truth. There is no evidence whatever that in ancient India there were libraries to compare with those of King Assurbani-pal of Assyria or the Ptolemies of Alexandria. We had indeed a splendid literature, but no splendour lay in the direction of libraries. The theory of some scholars regarding the existence of many great libraries in pre-Muslim India is, therefore, more patriotic than true. Literature and learning flourished in the land; there were fairly good collections of manuscripts and books in many of the centres of learning and with private individuals. But there is absolutely no evidence for the existence of an abundance of big or small libraries in the country. Conditions were quite unfavourable to their development. When their need and importance were not felt or recognized even by scholars and patrons of learning what chances could they have had for existing or thriving in the country?

Now, when we enter the Muslim period, we have altogether a different story to tell. Literature and learning assumed an entirely different aspect; so did libraries. Learning became more democratic and libraries acquired a first-rate importance. Islam was democratic in its ideals of knowledge. Unlike Hinduism, it never took an esoteric attitude towards matters concerning intellect, and it never allowed learning to be a monopoly of any one class of people. As a matter of fact, under Moslem rule even slaves had a chance of receiving education, and it is reported that many a Moslem monarch, among whom Muhammad Ghorī and Firūz Tughlak were most prominent, took a keen interest in slave education. A notable instance of such education is Kutb-bu-dīn, the first ruler belonging to the slave dynasty who is said to have been a man of exceptional literary taste and ability.

Moslem invasion started by the latter half of the tenth century; it did not become really aggressive till the first quarter of the eleventh century. The early invaders were, no doubt, ruthless iconoclasts. They destroyed temples, smashed idols and killed or put to flight many Hindus including even learned Brahmins. But once they got settled



down, their early zeal for the propagation of their religion seems to have abated to a considerable extent, and they began a constructive programme of work. In that programme, the encouragement of literature and learning and the development of libraries had an important place. To-day perhaps, we have more tangible evidences of Moslem contribution to art and architecture than to literature and learning. In the nature of things that is inevitable. Beautiful mosques and wonderful marble tombs on which many a Moslem ruler lavished a great deal of his care and wealth cannot escape the eyes of the traveller in Northern India. No such great monuments exist in the field of learning. Yet there is ample historical evidence of the distinctive contribution of the Moslem rulers to the cultural life and development of India. They, like their predecessors, no doubt, invited learned men to their courts. But if that was the only thing they did, in all probability they could not have had the claim to a distinctive contribution. Besides the usual court patronage of scholarship, their contribution lies in two directions, first, in the encouragement of popular education and secondly in the establishment of libraries. We shall consider their popular education first.

Any system of education which gives opportunities for acquiring culture to all classes of people including even the lowest can certainly be called popular education. In that sense the Moslems had the best popular educational system. That the Moslems did not allow learning to be exclusive and that even slaves had a chance of acquiring education under their rule have already been referred to. Their educational institutions were open to all. They were of two kinds, first *maktabs* or primary educational institutions and secondly, *madrasahs* or colleges in which higher education was imparted. A *maktab* was attached practically to every mosque in the country and hence there was a large number of them. *Madrasahs* on the other hand were as a rule institutions by themselves though a few of the smaller ones were sometimes attached to mosques. The instruction imparted in *maktabs* was of very elementary kind such as reading and writing and learning the Koran by heart. But the courses of study in *madrasahs* were far more advanced and varied. They included such subjects as languages, grammar, literature, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, metaphysics, theology, history, law, astronomy, natural science, arts and crafts, calligraphy, music and painting. Some of the *madrasahs* were small with one teacher and a few pupils while others especially those in large towns and cities were considerably large with a number of teachers and students. The medium of instruction was no doubt Arabic in which there was a considerable amount of literature practically on all subjects of human interest. Per-

sian, the court language, Turkish, Sanskrit, Urdu and some of the other important Indian languages were also taught in a few of the larger *madrasahs*. Many of these institutions seem to have had good endowments for scholarships and stipends for poor and deserving students.

A national system of education of this kind would have been impossible under the absolute rule of monarchy if it were not for the fact that the monarchs themselves were greatly interested in it. The interest of Moslem rulers in the spread of education was very keen and personal. Practically every one of them made large endowments for the establishment and maintenance of both *maktabs* and *madrasahs*. Some of them like Muhammad Ghorī, Kutb-bu-dīn, Firūz Tughlak of the early dynasties and Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngir, Aurangzīb of the later Mughal dynasty are reported to have been builders of a large number of colleges in important centres like Delhi, Agra, Fathpur Sikrī, Jalandar, Ajmere, and Vikramaśilā. Muhammad Ghorī is said to have destroyed some temples at Ajmere and built mosques and colleges in their place. His example was followed by Kutb-bu-dīn and a few other monarchs. Some of the rulers Nazir-ud-dīn, Balban, Bābar and Shāh Jahān whose activities were chiefly in other directions than building educational institutions, however, supported them with endowments, repairs etc. Even those who had no interest in education do not seem to have, except in the case of a very few of the type of Alā-ud-dīn of the Khaljī dynasty, reversed the educational policy of their predecessors.

Not only did the paramount sovereigns at Delhi, but also some of the lesser Muhammadan rulers in several parts of the country, a few of the nobility and gentry as well as certain private individuals seem to have evinced a keen interest in education. It is reported that in the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan there was a great number of colleges and schools, and provision even for the education of orphans and destitute village children. Other important states which encouraged education and built colleges and schools were Bijāpur, Golkonda, Mālwā, Khāndesh, Jaunpur, Multān and Bengal. Jaunpur, the capital of Jaunpur state was one of the most famous seats of learning and culture during the Moslem period. It contained hundreds of colleges and mosques and scholars from all parts of the country went to study there. Among the gentry who established colleges and schools Bakhtiyār, an officer of Kutb-bu-dīn who destroyed a Buddhist monastic institution at Vikramaśilā and put up mosques and colleges in its place, and Mahmūd Gāwān minister of Muhammad Shāh who built a college at Bīdar, are perhaps the most prominent. The best example of private individual enterprise in education is Māham Anaga, Akbar's nurse who built a college at Delhi, the ruins of which are still seen in the old capital.

Such encouragement and support of popular education is evidence not only of the desire of Moslem rulers and their officials for the cultural advancement of their people, but also of their own culture and literary tastes. With but a few exceptions they were all great lovers of learning and literature. Whether they built colleges or not, their general attitude was always helpful towards development of education and culture in the country. Thus for instance, though there is no mention of Altamsh or his daughter Queen Raziya or Nazir-ud-din or Balban having established schools or colleges, there is ample evidence that they were rulers who had good education and culture and who encouraged literature and learning in some form or other. They were patrons of learning not only in their courts but also in the capital and the country at large. Nazir-ud-din is reported to have been a regular scholar. In Balban's reign many literary societies flourished in Delhi most of them under the patronage of his son prince Muhammad. Jalal-ud-din of the Khalji dynasty was a man of great literary tastes. So were most of the Tughlak monarchs. Under Tughlaks who ruled for about a century, literature and learning made considerable progress in the country. Muhammad Tughlak, we are told, had been a man of much learning who gave scholars everywhere great support and encouragement. Firuz Tughlak was even more famous in this direction. He lavishly bestowed gifts and pensions on scholars. Firuzabad, the new Delhi which he founded was a notable literary centre. His interest in slave education has already been referred to. He is reported to have been constantly maintaining and educating over 18,000 slave children, many of whom were afterwards employed by him either as craftsmen or as scribes for the reproduction of manuscripts. Throughout his reign, a regular portion of the revenue of the state was set apart for educational purposes. He built over thirty colleges with mosques attached to them. Some of them particularly in the capital seem to have been residential institutions where professors and students lived together. In the reign of Sayyid Ala-ud-din, Badaun and under Sikandar Lodi, Agra was the most reputable centre of learning and literary activities. Sikandar seems to have insisted on literary education even for his military officers.

Now, coming down to the Mughal emperors, we find almost every one of them men of even greater culture and literary tastes. Babar, we are told, was a profound scholar with a taste for poetry and possessed a good knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Humayun was an equally accomplished scholar and gave great encouragement to learned men everywhere in his kingdom. Akbar, though generally supposed to have been unable to read or write, was greatly interested in the spread of literature and learning. He seems to have made several fresh ex-

periments in educational methods in order to make them more efficient. He was a patron not only of Muhammadan scholarship but also of Hindu scholarship and had several Sanskrit books translated into Persian. He built a number of colleges in Fathpur Sikri, Agra and other places of importance. Jahāngir was a lover of books and paintings, and gave equal encouragement to scholars and artists. Shāh Jahān's reign does not seem to be very remarkable for literary activities. His main interests were music, painting and the erection of beautiful buildings. In literary and educational matters, however, he did not reverse the policy of his predecessors. His son Prince Dārā Shukoh was a great scholar and a great student of Hindu Philosophy. He translated many Sanskrit works including the Upanishads into Persian. Aurangzib, though a strict orthodox Muhammadan, was a man of literary tastes and actively supported Muslim literature and learning.

The bulk of Muslim literature was, of course, produced in Arabic, but some were also written in Persian, the court language. A great number of Hindu works was translated into both these languages. Many Muslim scholars studied Sanskrit and Hindus likewise studied Arabic and Persian. The constant cultural and literary intercourse between Hindus and Muhammadans thus led to the formation of Urdu in which language also many works of importance were written.

One special activity of many Moslem monarchs was the reduplication of manuscripts. They loved beautiful books written in neat form and bound in attractive binding. For that purpose calligraphy was specially encouraged in schools and colleges and many men particularly educated slaves were employed as scribes. That led to an increase of books all over the country which fact brings us to the second aspect of the Moslem contribution to the educational and cultural development of India, namely, libraries.

The Muslim period may certainly be called the golden age of our ancient libraries. The early Moslem invaders were, no doubt, hard on idols and temples. But we do not hear of their destroying libraries which proves that either there were no libraries in the country to be destroyed or that they were considerate to libraries. Both alternatives are equally possible. It has already been mentioned that libraries were by no means plentiful in the pre-Muslim period. The few there had been were either attached to educational institutions or were in the possession of private individuals. These were most probably difficult to get at even if the Moslem invaders wanted to destroy them. Taking a more charitable view, however, it is quite possible that the invaders were

considerate to books and libraries. The fact that they in their zeal for their own religion destroyed all the outstanding monuments and symbols of an alien religion does not necessarily mean that they also destroyed libraries and burned books. It is impossible, moreover, to think that, such book lovers, as they proved themselves to be, could have been the ruthless vandals that they are often depicted. The greater possibility is that they took possession of any manuscripts or books which they could get hold of anywhere and added them to their own libraries later on.

Now, with the establishment of Moslem power in India, there was for the first time a rapid and extraordinary development of big and small libraries in the country as well as the erection of many beautiful library buildings. Such a development may be attributed to four causes. First, the attitude of Moslem rulers towards cultural and educational matters. We have already noted that most of them were men of good literary tastes and some of them first-rate scholars. Whether scholars or not, practically all of them were great book-lovers and spent much money for producing and collecting books. Even those who did not know how to read are reported to have been lovers of books and libraries. Secondly, the general attitude of Islam towards cultural matters was quite favourable to the development of libraries. It is only when learning becomes exclusive and esoteric that books are out of reach of ordinary people. Islam on the other hand considered learning to be the birth-right of every man, even that of a slave. Thirdly, the introduction of paper contributed not a little to the increase of books and consequently to the growth of libraries. Paper was introduced into India by the invaders themselves in the twelfth century, and it was by far the best material for book-making. It had a wide use as writing material and displaced palm leaves almost entirely in the Moslem world. And Moslem emperors never spared pains to see that practically every kind of literature was reduced into book form and that there were enough copies to meet the demand of scholars. Some of those copies were beautifully written and kept in most attractive binding. Lastly, the change in the educational system helped a great deal in the increase of books and libraries. Instruction was now not merely oral as in the pre-Muslim days ; reading and writing were important items in educational curriculum. Hence schools and colleges could not give instruction without books and libraries.

For these reasons, libraries were prominent institutions during the Moslem period. Both rulers as well as scholars took an active interest in their establishment and maintenance. Although very few of those

libraries and collections of books have survived the ravages of later invaders, there is ample evidence of the achievement of the Moslems in this direction.

Many of the bigger colleges seem to have possessed a good collection of books. For instance, the college at Bīdar which Mahmūd Gāwān, minister of Muhammad Shāh built possessed a library of 3,000 volumes a collection which may be considered enormous for days before printing was introduced into this country. (A printing press was set up in Goa by the Portuguese in 1561, but it was neither very successful nor popular). The Bidar College Library would certainly put to shame many of the college libraries of the present day. It is true that all the colleges of the Muslim period could not boast of such collections; yet it is certain that most of them possessed libraries of at least a few hundreds of volumes. Besides these libraries which were attached to educational institutions, there were many public libraries in important cities and towns. Many Muhammadan monarchs, particularly the Mughals, were active in establishing such libraries for the benefit of the people. Among these, the Imperial Library at Delhi, on which most of the Moslem rulers lavished a great deal of care and money, was, no doubt, the most important. It was the pride of the Moslem world. Besides the Imperial Library, several of the monarchs and members of the royal house-hold seem to have had private libraries of their own. Gul-Badan Begam, daughter of Bābar is reported to have had her own library. She was very active in her hobby of book-collection. Humāyūn, we are told, met his death by falling from the balcony of his library. Akbar was very active and zealous in building up libraries and had books brought and read to him every day from his own library. Aurangzib added a great number of Muhammadan theological works to many libraries particularly the Imperial Library. But alas! for the great Imperial Library as well as for the other important libraries, the invasion of Nādir Shāh in 1739 saw the last of them in the country. Among the booties he carried away to Persia, the treasures of our libraries were not the least important.

With this removal of books and libraries from the land, the glorious period of our ancient literature and learning may be said to have come to an end. The times that followed were certainly troublous and no literature, learning or libraries could possibly have flourished in the country. There was no central power and no paramount sovereign. Warring kings and chieftains were more bent upon conquering one another than in patronizing scholars or encouraging literature and learning. In spite of it all, however, Hindu *tols* and *pathasalas* and Muham-

madan *maktabs* and *madrasahs* continued their existence in several parts of the country. But the vigour which characterised them in the earlier periods was gone for ever. Most of them were decaying for lack of support. There were very few in the land who might be called learned and still fewer scholars who could produce any original literature. Books which were the outcome of an earlier and creative age were all shut up in the homes of individuals who did not know how to make use of them. They were safe, no doubt, from thieves and vandals ; so were they from scholars and very few there were in the country who either knew or cared to make use of them. Altogether it was the darkest period of our literary history. In the words of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, " At the moment when the West came to our door, the whole of Asia was asleep. The darkness of night had fallen on her life. Her lights were dim, her voice mute. She had stored up in her vaults her treasure, no longer growing. She had her wisdom shut in her books. She was not producing living thoughts or fresh forms of beauty. She was not moving forward but endlessly revolving round her past. She was not ready to receive the West in all her majesty of soul." But she did receive the West ; she received her not only as her ruler, but also as her teacher. The domination of Western learning and literature was, therefore, inevitable. That, of course, is modern history.

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# The Madhva- Vidyāśamkara Meeting—A Fiction

By

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It is a well-known fact that Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya (circa 1288-1348), in the course of his *Madhvavijaya* or Life of Madhva, devotes some attention to an incident which occurred in the early philosophical career of the Ācārya—his meeting with a certain Śamkara at Trivandrum. It is said that the latter having fared badly in wordy warfare, tried to hide his discomfiture by haughtily challenging Madhva to produce a bhāṣya of his own on the *Brahma sūtras* before presuming to pick holes in the time-honored commentary of Śamkara. The Ācārya assuring him that he would be writing his own bhāṣya in his own good time, added that his not having done so then and there, was no reason why he should not have satisfactorily answered his criticisms, if he could. The disputants parted in anger,—only to be thrown together again at Cape Camorin (Kanyātirtha). The old fire was rekindled. But what is more, the situation was rendered particularly nasty by the fact of both the monks having to spend their Cāturmāsya (four months' vow) in the same place. Madhva, at this time, had only a handful of disciples with him. His adversary, on the other hand, was strong in numbers and influence. The stronger party, naturally therefore, tried to harass the weaker and put obstacles in the way of the peaceful termination of the Cāturmāsya-vrata of the latter, and compel them to abandon the vrata and beat a hasty retreat. A socio-religious boycott of the new teacher and his camp was also presumably engineered in the country around by the aggressive party to the best of its power. But all in vain. Madhva refused to be intimidated by all this petty tyranny. And he stuck to his Cāturmāsya-vrata in spite of the tense situation. But when the Advaitins assumed a definitely pugilistic attitude, and became more and more bellicose, the Ācārya lost no time in promptly showing them their proper place by having them soundly thrashed and put out of harm's way.<sup>1</sup> This effective treatment taught Madhva's tur-

1. अप्रांश्वाद्यश्चा तत्रोषुश्चातुर्मास्यं ततो विभोः ।

दीक्षाभङ्गं चिकीर्षन्तः, ताडनं चाभवत्खलु ॥

(मध्वविजयभावप्रकाशिका v, 46. )



bulent rival a sound lesson, and he withdrew resolving never more to interfere in his affairs. Consequently, we hear no more of him in the *Madhvavijaya*.

## II

But who is this enigmatic person who came to nip Madhva's creed in the bud—but fared so badly in the attempt? With a single exception<sup>2</sup> so far as I am aware, all those writers who have dealt with the life-history of Madhva have followed the lead of the late Messrs. C. N. Krishnaswami Iyer and C. M. Padmanābhācār, in assuming that the Advaitic Monk encountered by Madhva was none other than Vidyāśaṁkara Tīrtha, the then Svāmi of the Śrīringeri Mutt. And, quite recently, capital use has been made of this mistaken identification by Mr Amarnath Ray in propounding the further identity of this Vidyāśaṁkara with Viṣṇusvāmin, the mysterious founder of the Rudra sect of Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>3</sup> It is high time therefore that the attention of scholars and critics is invited to the various difficulties which render the acceptance of this theory impossible. For, had it not been for the fanciful extent to which a simple and may be in itself harmless identity of a certain early opponent of Madhva with Vidyāśaṁkara is carried by a rising scholar and authority of Mr Ray's type, the present writer would not have thought it fit to probe into this matter and reject the proffered identity of the mysterious monk figuring in the life-history of Madhva with Vidyāśaṁkara Tīrtha.

Turning then, to the question of evidence, we find that there is nothing to support the identity in the earliest extant biography of Madhva viz., the *Madhvavijaya* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya. The name of the monk who met Madhva is nowhere stated to have been Vidyāśaṁkara. It is rather colorlessly given as 'Śaṁkara,'<sup>4</sup> which presumably means no more than that the person was an Advaitin. Possibly, his actual name was Śaṁkara. But certainly not Vidyāśaṁkara, to argue strictly on recorded evidence! Nothing is therefore gained by pressing the identity. It may lend color to the

2. cf. C. R. Krishna Rao, Śrī Madhva : His Life and Doctrine, p. 23 (Bhaskara Press, Udipi, '29).

3. Vide : The Viṣṇusvāmin Riddle, Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray, Annals of the B. O. R. I., Poona, vol. xiv, parts iii-iv. pp. 161-181.

4. अप्रांशुनूलोपपदाधिवासजः सशंकरो वैरपरायणः पुनः  
असूययोचेऽत्रमहानतिक्रमः सूत्रार्थवादोऽकृतभाष्यकेष्विति

narrative and make the account of Madhva's early religious career more picturesque. But it certainly will not be true to facts.

According to the geneo-chronological tables of the Śrīṅgeri Mutt, there was no doubt a Pontiff of the name of Vidyāśamkara who is claimed to have ruled from 1228-1333. *Prima facie* then, there seems to be no difficulty in identifying him with the reported antagonist of Madhva especially when the first part of their names agrees so well. But a little calm reflection is enough to upset the whole thing. In the first place, the tables and the dates of the Śrīṅgeri Mutt *especially for the period before the 14th century* are notoriously unreliable and faulty, bristling as they do with grotesque improbabilities and inexplicable and suspicious-looking gaps. There is, for instance, a big gap of 800 years after Sureśvara which is all but too clumsily assigned to his own self. This attempt to make Sureśvara cover a patent gap of some centuries only shows that the Mutt itself was not in existence during this period which for want of a better resort is fathered on Sureśvara himself whose rule we may remember came close on the heels of that of Śamkara, his Master. Tradition whispers that the Mutt was revived or resurrected (if not founded anew) by the mighty efforts of Vidyāranya in the 14th century. The confession of level-headed Advaitins that the Mutt was defunct for some centuries after Sureśvara or that it was in a state of suspended existence for 800 years after Sureśvara<sup>5</sup> is only a euphemistic way of saying that it was not in existence prior to the times of Vidyāranya!

This view seems to be corroborated not only by the lack of any epigraphic evidence vouching for the existence of the Mutt prior to the 14th century; but also by the somewhat unique part played by Vidyāranya in its resuscitation the details of which are now nearly obscured by the spell of false genealogies and fabulous dates.

As regards the first point, the only epigraphic evidence produced by the Mutt is the confused copper plate grant of the Kadamba King Purandararāya to Vidyāśamkara Bhārati of the Mutt in the year 1154 A. D. But the date, and the use of the name Vidyānagara instead of Vijayanagara in it, render it an indubitable forgery and so has it been dismissed by G. Moraes in his *Kadambakula*.<sup>6</sup>

5. cf. Life of Śamkara, K. S. Ramasvami Sastri, (Great Teachers of the World Series). cf. also the reported statement of Ātmabodha therein that "the Śrīṅgeri Mutt ceased to exist for 800 years."

6. Vide : G. Moraes, '*Kadambakula*,' Bombay, '31, pp. 162-163, as well as footnote therein.

As regards the second point, tradition is quite clear that Vidyāraṇya, in the 14th century, resuscitated the Śrīgeri Mutt with Vidyāśaṃkara Tīrtha at its head. But, methinks the actual part played by him was really far more intimate than what the traditions of the mutts with their well-known desire to establish for themselves a hoary antiquity in matters of descent, have thought it prudent or worthwhile to disclose. The centralization of the stupendous religio-philosophical activities of the Vijayanagar Kingdom (as evidenced in the mighty commentary-making efforts of the trio : Vidyāraṇya, Mādhava and Sāyaṇa) in order to augment the political renaissance of the newly established Hindu kingdom, would most naturally have suggested the idea of and need for the founding of a new mutt. For mutts in those days were ideal universities and produced far-reaching results.

When therefore, the royal brothers Harihara and Bukka requested their friend, philosopher and guide Vidyāraṇya to found a new mutt, he very readily fell in with their proposal and seems to have placed a certain monk of the name of Vidyāśaṃkara Tīrtha on the pīṭha of the (newly re-established) Śrīgeri Mutt.

But dates make it impossible that this Vidyāśaṃkara should be the person who encountered Madhva in his early career. For, the former was set upon the Pontifical throne by Vidyāraṇya, and this event could have taken place only after the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar. And this was in or about 1336 A. D.<sup>7</sup> Vidyāśaṃkara's meeting with Madhva, if at all, could only have happened after that date. But we know for certain that the latter had departed this life as early as 1317 A.D. Moreover, the encounter referred to in the *Madhvaviṇaya* took place very early in the life of Madhva—at a time when the Ācārya had not yet written his *Sūtra-bhāṣya* (and we are told that the opponent made a haughty reference to this fact). We also gather from the same source that this meeting was long before Madhva's first north Indian tour which was completed in 1263 A. D.<sup>8</sup> The encounter of Madhva with his rival must therefore be placed in the period before 1263. Now, Mādhava who is traditionally identified with Vidyāraṇya was not even born at this time,<sup>9</sup> and how can one who was set up by him on the Pīṭha

7. cf. Sewell : *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 19.

8. This is made clear by the Inscriptions of Narahari Tīrtha, the earliest of which is dated 1264 A. D.

9. His date is given by competent authorities as 1302-1387. cf. *Sources of Vijayanagar History*.

of Śrīgeri have engaged Madhva in a debate? Further, even assuming that Vidyāsaṃkara was about forty years of age when he was placed on the gadi by Vidyāraṇya in or about 1336, and assuming that the famous meeting took place about his twentieth year, we can fix its date no earlier than 1316 A. D. And the very next year was the year of the departure of Madhva from the scene of his mundane activities! Was this the time when he had not yet written his bhāṣya?

Apart from the question of dates, the information that we are able to gather regarding the precise identity and nativity of Vidyāsaṃkara renders his identification with the monk met by Madhva impossible. Of the identity and nativity of this Vidyāsaṃkara only two views are possible.

One is to regard him as a Kannaḍiga chosen at random by Vidyāraṇya at the request of Harihara and Bukkarāya. This is the most probable view seeing that the Kings Harihara and Bukkarāya were themselves Kannaḍigas. Both Vijayanagar and Śrīgeri are in the Kannaḍa country and even the trio Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya was Kannaḍiga (even as borne out by the correct names Sāyaṇṇa, Māyaṇṇa, etc). So that the choice must automatically have fallen on a Kannaḍiga, if no outsider had been called.

A different theory is adumbrated by experts in the field like Śyts Amarnath Ray,<sup>10</sup> M. A. Duraiswami Iyengar,<sup>11</sup> N. Venkataraman<sup>12</sup> and an influential section of Advaitins (owing allegiance presumably to the Kāmakoti Pīṭha of Kāncī with headquarters for some centuries past at Kumbakonam). These contend that Vidyāsaṃkara was none other than Vidyātīrtha, the then Pontiff of the Kāncī Pīṭha and illustrious Guru of Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya, who went over to Śrīgeri at the pressing invitation of his disciple Vidyāraṇya and assumed the headship of the Mutt there.

There are no doubt some points in favor of this theory. In the first place, Vidyātīrtha is frequently saluted by Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and

10. Annals of B. O. R. I., vol. xiv, parts 3-4, p. 173.

11. Vide: The Mādhava Vidyāraṇya Theory, M. A. Duraiswami Iyengar, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. xii—pt. 2. August 33.

12. This writer makes the colorless statement that "Mādhava under Vidyātīrtha's guidance restored the Śrīgeri Maṭha with Brahmānanda as its head, under the title of Bhārati-Kṛṣṇa-tīrtha." (Śaṃkarācārya and His Followers at Kāncī p. 96). On this view, there seems to be no place for a Vidyāsaṃkara on the Śrīgeri Pīṭha!

Vidyāraṇya as their Guru. And secondly, it is not a far cry from Vidyātīrtha to Vidyāśaṅkara Tīrtha. At any rate, the equation is tempting! When specially requested by the King to found or restore a mutt and place it in the charge of a worthy monk, it is more probable than not that Vidyāraṇya should immediately turn to his venerable Guru Vidyātīrtha “whose breath the Vedas were.” :यस्य निःश्वसितं वेदाः

In the absence of fuller details, we can neither affirm nor reject this theory. But nevertheless, certain practical difficulties. we may note, prevent its being worked out in full and to our entire satisfaction. It would no doubt simplify matters and probably also tend to throw oil on the troubled waters of any unfriendly relations that *might* exist between the two mutts, to proclaim the personal identity of two of their original Pontiffs in bygone days! But it is doubtful if either party would be particularly enamoured of this sort of unity-mongering. One may also have to consider the administrative difficulties which would arise if the Head of the Kāmakoti Pīṭha were to suddenly assume charge of and full titles over another mutt. Will the ecclesiastical laws permit a single svāmi to occupy two different Pīṭhas under identical or slightly different names, is also more than we can say.

We are at perfect liberty then to accept or reject the attempted identification of Vidyāśaṅkara with Vidyātīrtha. That is to say: we may either prefer to keep Vidyāśaṅkara *qua* Vidyāśaṅkara throughout, or we may agree to look upon him as a sudden metamorphosis of Vidyātīrtha of the Kāncī Mutt. On any alternative, it would be impossible to see in him the turbulent monk encountered by Madhva.

For, if we take the former view, we must take it that he was a Kannaḍiga by birth. If we adopt the latter view, we are led to the conclusion that he must have been a pucca Tamilian; for, according to the traditional accounts of the Kāmakoti Pīṭha and the researches of Mr. N. Venkataraman, Vidyātīrtha was a Tamilian Brahmin born in the village of Bilvāraṇya<sup>13</sup> which is the same as the modern town of Tirutturai-pūṇḍi in the Tanjore district.<sup>14</sup>

But our friend the early adversary of Madhva was neither a Kannaḍiga nor a Tamilian, but a pucca Tulu Brahmin coming from the same country and community as Madhva himself! The evidence on this point

13. Vide : Śaṅkarācārya the Great and His Followers at Kāncī, p. 93.

14. Vide : *District Gazetteer*, Tanjore, p. 283 (vol. 1).

*Madhvaviṇaya-bhāvaprakāśikā*, v. 38, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Press, Udupi, '25.

is furnished by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya himself in his own commentary known as *Bhāvaprakāśikā* on the *Madhvavijaya*. It is thus. In narrating the incident of the Advaitic monk, the author gives in addition to his proper name, his clan-name also. This clan-name or patronymic which is characteristic of every Tulu Brahmin, in this case was “Aprāmsū-nūtno-papadā-dhivāsajaḥ” which is only a Sanskritised form of “Kudipustūr-āya (lit. ‘he of the Little-new-town’) even as stated by the author himself in his commentary.<sup>15</sup> It is usual with Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita to Sanskritise all the Tulu proper names, patronymics and clan-names, which will not elude the comprehension of natives of S. Kanara to whom primarily the *Madhvavijaya* was addressed. To help outsiders also, the author appended his own commentary in which the Tulu equivalents were given. Persons who had the misfortune to write about the life of Madhva when they were still unaware of the existence of this commentary<sup>16</sup> or when it was inaccessible to them have therefore mistaken the epithet “Aprāmsū-nūtno-papadā-dhivāsajaḥ” (अप्रांशुनूत्नोपपदाधिवासज) for a term of veiled reproach and thought that it meant something like a “Dwarf.” But truth to tell there is nothing objectionable in the term and it does not mean dwarf !

The use of the distinctive clan-name अप्रांशुनूत्नोपपदाधिवासज alias कुदिपुस्तुराय therefore, is enough to dispel the least doubt that may be entertained regarding the nativity of Madhva’s early opponent, and conclusively establish him to have been a native of S. Kanara.

His identification with Vidyāśamkara of the Śringeri Mutt, therefore, stands utterly discredited.

15 अप्रांशुनूत्नोपपदाधिवास इत्यस्य कुदिपुस्तुर इत्यपभ्रष्टभाषा ।

16. cf. “At the same time, he gives us a rare glimpse of this person for he calls him “the Dwarf.” (!) C. N. K. Iyer, *Life and Times of Madhvācārya*, p. 249, G. A. Natesan & Co., ‘23.

# Jagannātha Paṇḍita

By

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(Continued from Page 208, Vol. II, No. 2.)

## (2) AS A POET.

Jagannātha Paṇḍita is not one of the greatest poets of India. He has not written and left to posterity any Mahākāvya of Raghuvamśa or Kirātārjuniya type of any drama of Śākuntala or Uttararāmacarita standard. His poems are his *minor* works, where he had not much scope either for weaving an intricate plot, or for the delineation of a great character, or for the full development of a sentiment (Rasa). *But he is one of the great poets of the modern era.* Most of his poems, especially his five *Laharīs*, abound in picturesque descriptions of Nature. He is said to be one of the modern authors who revived the old classical *Vaidarbhī* style of Kālidāsa, Daṇḍin and others. Though often given to verbal jugglery, his happy alliterations and suggestive figures of speech do not obscure in the minds of *Sahṛdayas* (cultured men) the central ideas or sentiments constituting the leading Rasa. His simple yet majestic and forcible style; his mellifluous diction; his clear and pointed expressions; his weaving out fine fibres of Śāstraic ideas in poetry and above all, his wide and deep erudition coupled with the poetic imagination have won for him the position of a *great poet* in Sanskrit literature.

### 1. FIVE LAHARĪS.

All the *Laharīs* of Jagannātha exhibit the intense devotion of the author to the Almighty. The chief suggestion of Bhāva—the Īśvara-rati or Bhakti as it is called—would group these poems under the *Uttama* or *Uttamottama* variety of Kāvya (the poems par excellence), though there is no Rasa-dhvani suggested therein.

In addition to this Bhāvadhvani, we see in these *Laharīs* Jagannātha in the best of his poetic imagination which is able to paint, with its characteristic tone of exaggeration, pictures of real interest,

(1) His *Sudhā-laharī*, (a short lyrical poem of 30 stanzas of Srag-dharā metre, available in print in Bombay Kāvya-mālā Series) is full of beautiful images of the Sun-God. The very first stanza—

उल्लासः फुल्लपङ्केरुहपटलपतन्मत्तपुष्पन्धयानां  
निस्तारः शोकदावानलविकलहृदां कोकसीमन्तिनीनाम् ।  
उत्पातस्तामसानामुपहततमसां चक्षुषां पक्षपातः  
सङ्घातः कोऽपि धाम्नामयमुदयगिरिप्रान्ततः प्रादुरासीत् ॥

(which Jagannātha quotes in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* as an illustration for a variety of Madhyama (mediocre) Kāvya where Śabdacitra and Arthacitra are equally prominent) gives us a fine picture of the Rising Sun. The sudden rise of an extraordinary collection of the luminous rays from the Udaya mountain ; a hope of the humming bees for the enjoyment of the sweet honey in the newly blossomed lotus-flowers ; a complete destruction of the heart-burning separation of the Koka birds in the night ; a total disappearance of the all-pervading darkness and a sweeping change of the world from the invisible to the visible—such fine pictures painted in golden colour mark Jagannātha's poetry. The description of the golden rays of the sun as the *life-preservers of the animate world* and as the annihilators of all causes of diseases ; the full development of the metaphor *Sūrya-Kalpadruma* in stanza 26 and the complete explanation of the *Kapyāsa Śruti* in stanza 30 in reference to the Sun-God as the all-pervading, innate Supreme Force bespeak his deep lore in various branches of learning such as the Indian Hygienic Science and the Indian philosophical systems.

This Laharī is to a great extent a successful imitation of Mayūra's *Sūryaśataka* both in poetic content and diction. It is noted for the poetic merit "*Aujvalya*." To heighten this *Aujvalya* guṇa, it abounds in good specimens of Śabdālankaras that, quite suitable to the context, are to some extent, *sounds echoing the sense*.

(१) आतामीवार्तलक्षाः प्रतिदिनविहितानेकगीर्वाणरक्षाः  
भक्तानां कल्पवृक्षाः स्फुरदनलगतस्वर्णभासां सदृक्षाः ।

Here the last syllable of each phrase is repeated.

(२) सा नो भानोः प्रभानो नयनसरणितो दूरतो जातु यातु ।

Here the last syllable of each word is repeated in varieties.



(३) गाहं गाहं गृह्णालीरगतिकगदितां गन्धमन्तो गदार्तिं  
ग्लानिं ग्रामं प्रसन्तां ग्रहं रुचिगुरवो गोपतेर्गोविलासाः ।

Here the first sound of each word is repeated.

(2) The *Amṛta-laharī* is Jagannātha's another devotional poem wherein the author extolls the extraordinary virtues of the sacred river Jumna. It contains only 10 stanzas of the famous Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre and one Śloka at the end that has mere biographical reference :—

अयं पण्डितराजेन श्रीजगन्नाथशर्मणा ।  
स्तवः कलिन्दनन्दिन्या निर्मला निरमीयत ॥

We have heard of another work from the same pen on the Jumna called *Yamunāvarṇanākhyāyikā* of which nothing is known in detail except some stray passages quoted in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* (pages 19, 49, 128, 287 and 293). As the whole work is not yet discovered, nothing can be definitely said about its character. As the title of the work is *Yamunāvarṇanākhyāyikā*, it may be affirmed that it is, unlike the five *Laharīs*, only a production of literary art which the poet—an expert artist—just like a painter, merges himself into the subtle beauties of Nature. One of the extracts given in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, page 19—

यथा यमुनावर्णने—तनयमैनाकगवेषणलम्बीकृतजलधिजठरप्रविष्टहि-  
मगिरिभुजायमानाया भगवत्या भागीरथ्याः सखी ॥

beautifully describes the *confluence* of the Jumna with the Ganges which again falls into the ocean and as such, looks like the mighty arm of the Himālaya stretched out into the depths of the sea in search of his son Mount Maināka. This description is truly pictorial and no painter would have given a different picture altogether.

The *Amṛta-laharī* is, on the other hand, a small piece of devotional poetry where the poet surrenders himself to the sacred waters of the Jumna for the eternal purification of his soul. His arguments for his surrender to Her waters are obvious. They are naturally gifted with the immortal and wonderfully combined form of both Hari and Hara (Viṣṇu and Śiva) by their blue external surface and by their bright internal heart full of precious gems. They also possess the divine power of purifying the sinners and blessing them at the end with choicest gifts even when they (the sinners) happened to utter the name of Kālindī in a sportive tone ; but how wonderful and miraculous would be the result when the people in contact with the sacred river are great devotees

(like Jagannātha) who immerse themselves every day into her nectar-like water !

Again, Jagannātha as a great devotee expresses his wonder at the wonders of the Jumna. How marvellous are the natural achievements of the waters of the Jumna when they work out by mere contact the purification of the worst sinners who commit the five *mahāpātakas*—stealing gold etc.—and thus render nugatory all Sastraic purificatory rituals—*prāyaścittams*—and also by elevating the sinners to Heaven, root out the howling pride of the King of the Dead ; (for, he has the unquestionable power of putting the sinners to many a severe torture) ! How inexpressible and inimitable is the power of the Jumna, on account of whose natural affection and great regard for her brother, the Lord of the Dead, she bears the pangs of contempt and disrespect displayed by the dying person in her waters who ever becomes pure and virtuous ; and for whose immeasurable inborn affection, her father, the Sun-God, endures the unbearable pain caused by the sudden break of his disc (when the passing virtuous souls leave behind their mortal bodies and flee away to Heaven through the disc of the Sun-God *Sūryamaṇḍala*). Above all,

पायं पायमपायहारि जननि ! स्वादु त्वदीयं पयो  
नायं नायमनायनीमकृतिनो मूर्ति दृशोः कैशवीम् ।  
स्मारं स्मारमपारपुण्यविभवं कृष्णेति वर्णद्वयं  
चारं चारमितस्ततस्तव तटं मुक्तो भवेयं कदा ॥

This pathetically poetic outburst quite characteristic of Jagannātha suggests his special reason for having settled in his last days on the banks of the Jumna. The very blue appearance of the River *Kṛṣṇā* which, though quite inaccessible to ordinary men, would, in deep and unbroken meditation, enable him to realise what is inviolable in Nature—the supreme Brahman, expressed as in a nutshell in the syllables of the word *Kṛṣṇa*. That the Jumna was one of His close associates especially in His younger days when He was roaming through the *Br̥ndāvana* along with cows and cowherds, would have naturally, at the very sight of her, given rise in Jagannātha's reflective mind to the deep devotion to his Lord. This kind of indirect reference to things to be described is one of the chief characteristics of Jagannātha's devotional lyrics which can as well be found in the first benedictory verse of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*— स्मृतापि करुणातपं etc., and in a similar verse— सन्येषास्मिन् - etc. (quoted in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, page 221). That the very sight of the *Cātaka* birds reminds him of the

row of clouds, the saviours of their life, which again calls to his mind the charming and lovely form of Lord Kṛṣṇa shows the wealth of his poetic fancy, as also his intense devotion to the commonly inaccessible position of God.

(3) Jagannātha's *Lakṣmī-laharī* is another devotional poem in praise of the Goddess of Wealth. It contains 41 verses (available in print in the Bombay Kāvya-mālā Series, second Gucchaka). As a close follower of the traditional rules of the descriptions of deities in poetry, Jagannātha beautifully describes the lovely form of Lakṣmī from her foot to her head in highly artistic diction. Her munificence is so proverbially known throughout the world that even Viṣṇu, her lord, the sole protector of the world, cannot live without her grace and that all gods including Parameśvara have to look for her own sympathy and benevolence. Her naturally reddish feet; her shining nails more overwhelming in splendour than even the nectar-rays of the moon; her fully decorated ankles; her unrivalled thighs; her hip clad with an orange silk circled by a well-decked girdle that surpasses the brightness of the sun-disc; her slender waist; her full and symmetrical breasts, her soft hands with a lotus-flower ready to bless those who are in need and affliction; her bright face always shedding ambrosia, her nose breathing out sweet fragrance, her rosy cheeks with falling curling hair; her bright and penetrating looks capable of warding off the effects of chill penury, her ears ever busy in hearing the hot complaints of the suffering world and her long lock of hair that looks like a thick row of clouds—these portrayed in poetic lavishness and exaggeration naturally heighten Jagannātha's intense devotion and piety to the Goddess Lakṣmī.

(4) The *Karuṇā-laharī* and the *Gaṅgā-laharī* are the best of Jagannātha's devotional poems. The *Karuṇā-laharī* or the *Viṣṇu-laharī* expressly indicates his sole reliance on the mercy of Lord Viṣṇu, the protector of the world. The author's tone in this *Laharī* is one of elegant and extreme pathos which the poet has clothed in beautiful verses, 43 in number, in the famous "Viyoginī" metre. The very opening stanzas (12 in *Vaiśaṣṭha* metre) bear evidence to his utter disgust with the material enjoyments that are transitory and unreal. In this *Laharī* he looks for his spiritual guidance by the all-sympathetic and graceful visage of Lord Viṣṇu. His pathetic appeals to His divine mercy are full of realistic pictures. His exhortations are very touching. His hot complaints against God exemplify his great devotion to God Viṣṇu. To take liberties with God and to accuse Him of not granting his request in spite of oft-repeated prayers and sacrifices, is one of the chief characteristics of all great devotees of India; and in this respect, Jagannātha

can be counted as one of the foremost. This fact can be noticed by even a cursory glance of some stray stanzas of this Laharī in Viyoginī metre : (See verses 13, 14, 16, 17, 26, 32, and 35).

अयि ! दीनतरं दयानिधे ! दुरवस्थं सकलैः समुक्षितम् ।  
 अधुनापि न मां निभालयन्भजसे हा ! कथमश्मच्चित्तात् ॥  
 सुमहान्ति जगन्ति विभ्रतस्तव यो नाधिरभून्मनागपि ।  
 स कथं परमाप्तदेहिनां परमाणोर्मम धारणे श्रमः ॥  
 न धनं न च राज्यसम्पदं न हि विद्यामिदमेकमर्थये ।  
 मयि धेहि मनागपि प्रभो ! करुणाभङ्गितरङ्गितां दशम् ॥  
 अयमत्यधमोऽपि निर्गुणो दयनीयो भवता दयानिधे ! ।  
 वमतां फणिनां विषानलं किमु नानन्दयिता हि चन्दनः ॥  
 अयि गतंमुखे गतः शिशुः पथिकेनापि निवार्यते जवात् ।  
 जनकेन पतन् भवार्णवे न निवार्यो भवता कथं विभो ! ॥  
 अपि शैशवलालितः शिशुः प्रतिबुद्धो जनकेन ताड्यते ।  
 न कदापि च लालितस्त्वया किमु ताड्यो भगवन् ! कुकर्मभिः॥  
 अहमेव हि दोषदूषितो भगवंस्त्वा समुपालभे मुधा ।  
 रमणीविग्रहज्वरज्वलन्नमृतांशुं कुमतिर्विनिन्दति॥  
 कटुजल्पनमल्पकस्य मे न हि ते कल्पयतु कुधं विभो ! ।  
 कुपितानुरबालमाषितं किमु गृहणन्ति मनाद्वाहाशयाः॥

Just like a weeping child, Jagannātha resigns himself to divine mercy for the purification of his soul, raises his voice of prayer to the highest pitch, and bursts out into his highly pathetic and emotional poetry, until at last his voice falls down in the worship and meditation of God in His supremely divine Form when, after his purification, he is blessed with the choicest gifts by the Merciful God.

‘ द्वारं निर्वृतिसन्नोविजयते कृष्णेति वर्णद्वयं—’

To Jagannātha this is the true significance of the word “Kṛṣṇa”—the gateway of the abode of salvation—the Supreme Bliss.

(5) Jagannātha’s Gaṅgā-laharī or Piyūṣa-laharī is one of the most popular devotional poems in the domain of Sanskrit lyric poetry and it can stand on a par with Śrī Śaṅkarācārya’s Śivānanda-laharī or Saundarya-laharī. It is so popular that all religious people especially in Northern India recite this Laharī whenever they worship the Sacred Ganges. It is a traditional belief that Jagannātha, while helplessly sitting on the steps of the banks of the Ganges and reciting this Laharī, was washed off by an instantaneous rise of the water of the river and as such,

he was taken to the abode of God. Thus tradition apparently attributes some supernatural power to Jagannātha, as he is said to have raised up the water of the Ganges and taken his permanent shelter in Her bosom. Anyhow, it is beyond doubt that the pathetic and devotional element in him is boundless and even beyond expression.

This point is clear from a close study of the Gaṅgā-laharī. To its author as well as to his co-devotees, the waters of the Ganges appear to be the crest of earthly splendour and power ; the great essence of all the sacred revelations ; the living embodiment of all piety and purity ; the contributor to the deliciousness of the divine nectar ; a means of accumulating imperishable wealth ; a perennial fountain of bliss ; an immortal abode of calmness and peace, of virtue not tainted even by an iota of sin ; a force though formless, inconceivable and inexpressible, yet a supreme deity accessible to all devotees and impartially elevating them to Heaven—such are the waters of the Ganges that Jagannātha had recourse to for the eternal purification of his soul.

As regards the literary worth of this Laharī, many of its stanzas are so simple and graceful that they are recited in an elevated voice of devotion and piety by most of the people even to-day. The poet's unrivalled imagination soars on such a high plane that it creates many a good and charming picture of the water-element in Nature clothed rather in an ornamented, handsome and fine garment which bespeaks the free dancing of the Muse of Poetry in the hands of the great poet Jagannātha.

## 2. THREE PANEGRYRICS

(1) Of the three panegyrics—the Jagadābharāṇa, the Āsapha-vilāsa and the Prāṇābharāṇa, the first glorifies the marvellous achievements of the emperor of Delhi, one of the chief patrons of the author. This work is not wholly available except some stray verses quoted by the author in his Rasagaṅgādhara. The following is one of such verses that refer clearly to the emperor of Delhi :

माहात्म्यस्य परोऽवधिः निजगृहं गम्भीरतायाः पिता  
रत्नानामहमेक एव भुवने कोऽवाऽपरो मादृशः ।  
इत्येवं परिचिन्त्य मा स्म सहसा गर्वान्धकारं गमो  
दुग्धान्धे ! भवता समो विजयते दिल्लीधरावल्लभः ॥

“ Oh Milky Ocean ! do not grow vain and self-conceited on the thought that you are the unique creation of God gifted with extreme greatness,

depth of heart and many invaluable gems ; there is the emperor of Delhi (perhaps Dara Shukho) who equals you ! ”

Similar verses referring to the Delhi emperors are found in the same work and they all eulogise Shajahan and Dara Shukho as extraordinarily great monarchs. In the self-same work are given many descriptive verses that do not refer to any particular king. Such verses are also not found in the *Prāṇābharaṇa*, an encomiastic work on King *Prāṇanārāyaṇa*, King of Kamata (available in print in Bombay *Kāvya-mālā* Series). Hence they may well form a part of the *Jagadābharaṇa*.

(2) Of the *Āsaphavilāsākhyāyikā*, only the introductory passage is as yet known to the literary public through the strenuous efforts of Pandit Durgaprasad, the learned editor of most of the works in the *Kāvya-mālā* Series, Bombay. The same passage has been quoted in the previous section. It says that Jagannātha enjoyed the great patronage of Asaf Khan, the Mughal vizier and he won the honorific title of *Paṇḍita-rāja* from Shajahan in recognition of his unrivalled scholarship in Sanskrit. His style in prose is far, far inferior to that of *Bānabhaṭṭa*,<sup>1</sup> the father of prose style in classical Sanskrit.

(1) *Bānabhaṭṭa* flourished in an age when the Sanskrit language was growing rapidly in various aspects—poetry, prose, drama and so on. *Kālidāsa*, *Bhāravi* and other poets enriched both the content and style of Sanskrit poetry. *Subandhu*, the author of the *Vāśavadattā*, by his solid contribution to Sanskrit literature, won an unequalled reputation as an untiring writer of romantic prose. *Kālidāsa*, *Bhāvabhūti* and King *Harṣa* (the patron of *Bānabhaṭṭa*) were already shining stars in the firmament of Sanskrit Drama. And *Bānabhaṭṭa* found it very difficult to hold his banner up as a poet and dramatist and he turned all his attention towards prose-writing, which is highly praised by all critics—*गद्यं कवीनां निरूपं वदन्ति*—prose is the touchstone of poets. Prose-writing was made by him an art to be constantly practised only by masterhands and we see in each section of the *Kādambarī*, especially in the *Pūrvabhāga*, masterly descriptions of the *Vindhyaṭavī* and such other wild but beautiful features of Nature. The *Mahāśvetā* episode and the *Śukanāsopa-deśa* are the masterpieces in the *Kādambarī* of *Bānabhaṭṭa*. In spite of the natural flow and grace of his style, he made the art of prose-writing in Sanskrit very difficult and even apprehensive by the introduction of certain rules or conventions in the choice of words, phrases and constructions also. To some extent, his master-genius has beaten down *Subandhu*, his rival in the field and established for himself once for all a unique name as the “father of classical Sanskrit Prose.” The over-study and over-popularity of his historical romance, the *Harṣacarita* and of his less artificial *Kādambarī* created many authors in later era to sedulously ape him. One of the partially successful attempts we find in *Vāmaṇabhaṭṭabāna*’s *Vemabhūpālacarita* and after that, no author is found forthcoming with enough courage and con-

(3) Jagannātha's third panegyric is the Prāṇābharāṇa (available in print with the author's commentary in the Kāvya-mālā Series) which contains more than fifty stanzas of different metres. It is a poem extolling the virtuous deeds of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, King of Kamata (the modern Assam). He has already been referred to as the chief patron of Jagannātha after his life at the Mughal Court in Delhi. His account of King Prāṇanārāyaṇa gives no clue to his date or to the character of his reign. In the poem the King is described in each stanza as an extraordinary personage of marvellous achievements. Each verse is complete in itself both in idea and in language and the work does not therefore give to the readers a continuous account of the glorious life of the hero. Only in one verse is the King indirectly referred to as having conquered five Kingdoms—Alakā, Chola, Laṅkā (Ceylon), Lāṭa and Aṅga.

आबध्नास्यलकाशिरस्यसितमां. चोलं रमाकांक्षया  
लङ्काया वशतां तनोषि कुरुषे जङ्घाललारक्षतम् ।  
प्रत्यङ्गं परिमर्दनिर्दयमहो ! चेतः समालम्बसे !  
वामानां विषये नृपेन्द्र ! भवतः प्रागल्भ्यमत्यद्भुतम्॥ (Verse 7).

and the history of these conquests is extremely doubtful.

Prāṇanārāyaṇa is known from other sources as a Mughal vassal who ruled over the Kingdom of Kamata, which then included the modern districts of Rangapur, Kuch Bihar, Goalpura and Kamrup. He waged wars not only with his feudatories but also with his overlord and died in 1669 A.D.

viction either to successfully imitate him or to beat him. When this was the state and position of Sanskrit prose after A.D. 700, writers like Tryambakabhaṭṭa of 10th century, the author of the Nala-campū and King Bhoja of Dhar of the 11th century took the initiative in the development of Sanskrit Prose along with poetry which developed into the Campū, one of the most popular kinds of literature in Sanskrit. Though the style of the Ākhyāyikā or Kathā systematised by Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the ideal in the view of these later writers, yet they developed in their works a prose-style quite agreeable to the style of their poetry. Their over-enthusiasm to imitate Bāṇa and Subandhu in introducing double entendres, etc., has only marred the beauty of the style in which they are supposed to be masters. Geniuses like Vedānta Deśika might have, if they would, played a successful game.

The chief cause of the rareness of the prose-works—Ākhyāikās or Kathās—in Sanskrit literature is thus explained and it is no wonder that Jagannātha Paṇḍita, an author of the 17th century, was not successful in writing his historical romance "Āsapha-vilāsa" on the model of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harṣa-carita. His is no doubt up to the mark of the prose-style of his own days, which is characterised by the simplicity in idea and language, though at times obscured by long compounds with overwhelming alliterations and thrust in figures of speech.

But this *Prāṇābharāṇa*, as a literary work, enumerates all human and sometimes superhuman virtues of an ideal king—a king who, to a loyal Hindu subject, is not an ordinary man but God in the form of a man with extraordinary power—

‘महती देयता ह्येषा नररूपेण निष्ठति’ —Manusmṛti, Chap. VII.

To a virtuous king the Hindus attribute many divine qualities ; they consider him a representative of God possessing the essential qualities of all divine kings of the eight quarters :

“ अष्टाभिश्च नरेन्द्राणां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो नृपः ”

Jagannātha Paṇḍita, out of gratitude to his patrons, appropriately eulogised them one by one in these three works. He is blind enough to the weak and vicious qualities that are apt to creep into a man's various phases of life ; he portrays only the bright and glorious parts of their lives and achievements.

### 3. BHĀMINĪ-VILĀSA

Another well-known work of Jagannātha Paṇḍita is the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* which, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa says, the poet composed specially before he wrote the *Rasagaṅgādhara* in order that it might provide illustrations for that work. This view is, however, disproved by modern criticism. The truth of this matter seems to be that Jagannātha Paṇḍita made improptu verses as the need for illustration arose in writing his *Rasagaṅgādhara*. Afterwards he collected them, lest they should be claimed by other poets—

“दुर्वृत्ता जारजन्मानो हरिष्यन्तीति शङ्कया ।

मदीयपद्यरत्नानां मञ्जुषेयं कृतिर्मम” ॥

It is not clear whether this work relates to any particular lady. It is divided into four parts—Anyokti, *Śṛṅgāra*, *Karuṇa* and *Śānti samullāsas*. The Anyokti samullāsa throws considerable light on the events of the poet's life. The *Śṛṅgāra* samullāsa takes up the main emotional crises of a lady's life—her first meeting with her lover, union, courting, jealousy and reconciliation. The *Karuṇa* samullāsa is a pathetic lament for the loss of the poet's own wife and son. The *Śānti* samullāsa reveals the process by which the poet got reconciled to the phenomenon of the world and won peace and tranquillity for his spirit. In addition to his autobiographical interest, this poem maintains at a high level the poet's usual felicity of praise, his power of emotional appeal and his wealth of poetic imagery.



To appreciate Jagannātha's poetry in general—its native gracefulness and artistic charm, its lucidity of style and simplicity of diction, its decorative elements free from poetic flaws and full of poetic merits, we may cite in conclusion, the closing stanzas of the last samullāsa in his Bhāminī-vilāsa, wherein he applauds his poetry as graceful and delicious, sweet and tasteful to all *Sahṛdayas* who are naturally gifted with the element of *responsiveness*.

(१) “मद्वाणि ! मा कुरु विषादमनादरेण  
मास्वर्गभग्नमनसां तरसा खलानाम्।  
काव्यारविन्दमकरन्दमधुवताना-  
मास्येषु धास्यसितमां कियतो विलासान् ” ॥

“(Oh my Muse !) don't at all be sorry for the disregard on the part of the wicked persons, whose minds are biassed by jealousy ; (for) you will be the best subject for various eulogies from the mouths of those bees who have tasted the juice of the lotus, viz., your poems.”

(२) “ मधु द्राक्षा साक्षात् अमृतमथ वामाधरसुधा  
कदाचित्केषाञ्चिन्न खलु विदधीरन्नपि मुदम् ।  
ध्रुवं ते जीवन्तोऽप्यहह मृतका मन्दमतयो  
न येषामानन्दं जनयति जगन्नाथभणितिः

(३) ध्रुवैरपिमाधुवैर्द्राक्षाक्षीरेशुमाक्षिकसुधानाम् ।  
वन्द्यैव माधुरीयं षण्डितराजस्य कवितायाः ” ॥

In these stanzas, Jagannātha assures us that his poetry is fine ; that though it may not give pleasure to those who are jealous of his greatness, yet it is delightful to those who incessantly, like bees, suck out the sweet honey-like Rasa of his blossomed flower-like poetry. Again, he affirms that his poetry is of such a delicious taste as the sweet wine, the divine ambrosia, or the nectar on the rosy lips of a young damsel ; To whom, in what time, he questions, does it (his poetry) not cause excessive joy ? Such is his confidence in his poetry, that he finally declares that all those who do not find any element of charm and sweetness in his poetry, are surely *blockheads*. He believes that his poetry is divine, sweeter and more delicious than the ordinary delicious things—wine, milk, sugar-cane, honey and so on. But, a modern critic of unbiassed judgment, may not endorse all his opinions on his poetry, on the ground that they are pronounced in a tone of vanity and self-appreciation,—qualities not at all generally desirable in a learned man like Jagannātha Paṇḍita. Anyhow, these pronouncements are enlivening and to some extent justifiable in that they fully bring out the sad characteristics of the life-battle that he had to fight bravely with his literary and other enemies.

(to be continued).

# Theory of Music

By

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## INCONSISTENCIES

A satisfactory feature of the Renaissance of culture, which distinguishes the intellectual activity of this century is the cognisance of the fact that the random queries of young children are not easy to answer and that such answers do give in them a fund of human knowledge. In every field researches are being intensively made, and culture is having its legitimate advancement. As a result, the value of theoretical knowledge is coming to be more and more emphasised. Though for the past several decades the theory of South Indian Music has not been imparted to the students by preceptors, since colleges have sprung, it has acquired an important place in the curriculum.

In as much as a course of 4 years is instituted in the Annamalai University for the teaching of Music, and in the syllabus, an almost exhaustive list of the technicalities is included, their conformity to the practice of Music and all about their significance have indeed become worthy of our intensive study.

It is only after the birth of the 72 melakarthis that our Indian Music became divided into the North Indian and the South Indian. These 72 melakarthis were invented by Venkatamakhi of the 17th century. His work on Music, the Chathurdandiprakasika, is yet to be printed and published. It is the Sangita Sampradayapradarsani that unfolds to us all about the contents of that book. Here I should like to invite the attention of scholars of Music to some of the contradictions that are noticeable in this treatise.

(1) Under the caption Pracheena paddhati, in the course of the delineation of the 22 srutisthanas, it is stated that the suddhasthanas of Rishabha and Daivata take the 3rd sruti; and again, the same is repeated more than once when the melakarthis are dealt with. This is, certainly, a clear case of inconsistency. For, the suddhasthanas

referred to, under the Pracheena paddhati belong to the Kharaharapriya raga, while the latter to the Kanakangi. Are not the Rishabha-Daivatas of Kharaharapriya different from those of Kanakangi?

(2) In the course of the delineation of Vadi, Samvadi, etc., it is clearly mentioned that among the seventy-two Melakarthis the Vivadidosha is found in 40. Firstly, Vivadi is no defect. It certainly adds to the beauty of the raga, belonging, as it does, to the category of Vadi, Samvadi and Anuvadi. All original texts hold the same view. Secondly, when instances of Vivadi are cited, it should be proper that they must be selected from Lakshya ragas. But how surprising that they are culled out from the melakarthis themselves! I shall now explain which 49 among the 72 melakarthis, are said to contain Vivadi dosha. The 72 melakarthis are indeed the result of the permutative combinations of the 7 swaras and do not belong to the Lakshya ragas that existed. Let us see how the 72 result from the permutative combination. As a result of the 16 names  $(1 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 1 + 3 + 3)$  that Venkatamakhi gave to the 12 sthanas of the 7 swaras, 72 ragas  $[1 \times (3 + 3) \times 2 \times 1 (3 + 3)]$  were produced by their permutative combination. But from the 12 sthanas  $(1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 2)$  of the 7 swaras, 32  $(1 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 1 \times 2 \times 2)$  only can be naturally got; and the remaining 40 ragas are produced but by his Vikriti sthanas. Why did Venkatamakhi bestow 16 names to the 12 sthanas? What is the utility in thus adding 40 more to the 32 natural Melakarthis? Instead of explaining such points, is it not amazing that the same treatise should proclaim the existence of Vivadidosha in the 40 ragas themselves?

(3) The "Mela" and "Janya" classification is ancient enough. But the number of ancient Melas was not 72. Nor were they formed solely by the 7 swaras. It is only Venkatamakhi's Mela that is comprehended by the permutative combinations of the 7 swaras. He, therefore, affirms that they are 72 in number. These points are clearly set forth in the Sampradayapradarsani as well. Further, where the list of the Arohana and the Avarohana of ragas is given, anybody can clearly perceive that to some Melakarthis or Ragangaragas swaras less than 7 are attributed, while to many janya ragas all the 7 swaras are given. Hence this, again, is indeed an inconsistency.

(4) The ragas Kapinarayani, Suddhabangala, Navarasakannada, Kunthalavarali, Ravichandrika, Kokiladvani, etc., in which many famous kirtis of Tyagayya are composed, are conspicuously missing in the raga list given in that book. Again, in accordance with that list

of ragas given there, Kirthanas have been cited to illustrate every raga in its order. Almost all those Kirthanas appear to have enumerated from Dikshitar's pen. If due thought is bestowed here, it will be clear that the Lakshana of Tyagayya and of Dikshitar are different. But have we heard any vidwan say this so far!

(5) It has been already pointed out that the 72 Melakarthas did not exist before; that they are the product of the permutative combination, not of the Prakritisthanas alone, but of the Vikritisthanas also. It must be also noted that the 72 names given in the book are entirely different from those in vogue. Moreover, the 12 names such as Indu, Netram, Agni, etc., applying to the 12 Melakartha-chakrams; the ten names, Kalam, Margam, Kriya, etc., denoting the Dasapranas of the Tala; and the technical terms Akshiptika, Makarini, etc., set forth under the caption "The Method of Ragalapana"—will only bewilder any and every ardent lover of Sangitalakshana and make him resent them.

Since these contradictions are noticed in the Sangitapradarsani itself, which is the epitome of the Chaturdandiprakasika, the basic work of South Indian Music, Sangita vidwans are earnestly requested not to overlook these points, and to offer their objections—especially in view of the increasing estimation that is being given in this century to the study of theory.

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# பௌத்த மதமும் அதன் பிரிவுகளும்

By

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(Continued from page 297, Vol. II, No. 2.)

## மாத்யமிகர்

இவர் சொல்லுவதாவது தோன்றுகின்ற பொருள்களனைத்தும் அவிக்  
யையால் கல்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றனவேயொழிய அவை யொன்றும் உண்மையி  
லுள்ளவைகளல்ல. ஆகவே ஸாம்வ்ருத (saṃvṛta) மெனப்படுகின்றன. ஞானத்  
தின் ஸ்வரூபமும் இப்படியேன நிரூபிக்கமுடியாமலிருப்பதால் அதுவும் பரமார்த்த  
ஸத்தியமாகாது.<sup>1</sup> காணப்படும் வஸ்துக்கள் யாவும் உண்மையென நினைத்துக்  
கொண்டிருக்கும் ஜனங்களிடையே சூன்யமே தத்வமென்று உபதேசிப்பது செலி  
டன் காதில் ஊதும் சங்குபோல் ஆகுமாதலால் படிப்படியாகவே சூன்யத்தை  
உபதேசிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கருதி முதலில் புத்தகுரு ஸ்கந்தம் முதலிய பதார்த்தங்  
களை (இவைகள் மேலே நிரூபிக்கப்படப் போகின்றன) இருக்கின்றன போல்  
பேசியிருக்கிறார்.<sup>2</sup> தோன்றுகின்றன வெல்லாம் உண்மையா யிருந்தால் சிறு  
குழந்தைகளும் தத்துவ ஞானிகளாக யிருக்க வேண்டுமாதலால் தத்துவஞானத்தைத்  
தேட முயற்சிக்க வேண்டா.<sup>3</sup> மேலும் உண்மையில் பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்டாயிருந்  
தால் அவைகள் தங்கள் தங்களிடமிருந்தே உண்டாயினவா. அல்லது வேறு  
பொருள்களி லிருந்தாவென்று சொல்லவேண்டும். தங்களிட மிருந்தே தாங்கள்  
உண்டாகின்றன வென்பது பொருந்தாது. வேறு பதார்த்தங்களி லிருந்து  
உண்டாகின்றன வென்றால் எல்லாப் பொருள்களும் எல்லா வஸ்துக்களிலிருந்

1. नेष्टं तदपि धीराणां विज्ञानं पारमार्थिकम् ।

एकानेकस्वभावेन वियोगाद्विदग्धवन् ॥

2. लोकावतरणार्थं च भावा नाथेन दर्शिताः ।

तत्त्वतः क्षणिकानैते .....॥ (बोधि. पं. ३७६)

फेनपिण्डोपमं रूपं वेदनाबुद्धदोषमा । मरीचिसदृशी संज्ञा संकाराः कदली  
निभाः । मायोपमं च विज्ञानमुक्तमादित्यबन्धुना ॥ (माध्य. वृत्ति. 10)

3. इन्द्रियैरुपलब्धं यत्तत्तत्त्वेन भवेद्यदि । जाताः तत्त्वविदोबालाः

तत्त्वज्ञानेन किं फलम् ॥ (बोधि: प. ३७५)

தும் உண்டாகலா மல்லவா? ஒரு காரியம் உண்டாகும் முன்னேயே குறிப்பிட்ட ஒரு காரணப் பொருளிலிருக்குமேயானால் குறிப்பிட்ட காரணத்திலிருந்து குறிப்பிட்ட காரியமுண்டாகிறதெனச் சொல்லலாம். ஆனால் காரணப் பொருள்கள் அழியும் முன்னே காரியம் அவைகளிலிருப்பதாகச் சொல்வது எப்படி? விதை உருவ மழிந்துதானே முளை உண்டாவதைக் காண்கிறோம்.<sup>4</sup> ஆக உண்டாவது என்பது இல்லையாகையால் இருப்பும் அழிவும் சத்தியங்களாகமாட்டா.<sup>5</sup> இங்குப் பதார்த்தங்கள் இல்லையெனச் சொல்லுவதில் நோக்கமில்லை. உண்மையில் அவைகள் ஓரிடத்திலிருக்குமானால் வேறொரு இடத்தில் இல்லையெனச் சொல்லலாம். ஆகவே அறியாதவர்கள் இப்படி அப்படி யெனச் சொல்லுவதெல்லாம் உண்மையில் சரியில்லை யென்பதேகருத்து.<sup>6</sup> சூன்யமே பௌத்தசமயத்தின் எல்லை நிலமென்பதை ஸ்ரீபாஷ்யகாரர் வெளியிட்டிருக்கிறார்.<sup>7</sup>

### யோகாசாரர்

புறப் பொருள்கள் உண்மையில்லை யென்பது உண்மையே. ஆனால் அகப் பொருளான ஞானமூயில்லை யென்றால் உலக நடவடிக்கைகள் ஒன்றும் நடைபெற முடியாது. ஆகையால் ஞானமொன்றைப் பரமார்த்த ஸத்திய மென்றிசைக்கவேண்டும். ஆனால் “நானிதைக் கண்ணால் பார்க்கிறேன்” “புகையால் நெருப்பை அநுமிக்கின்றேன்” என்று சொல்லுவது எப்படி. இங்கே அறிகின்றவன் (प्रमाता) அறியப்படும் வஸ்து (प्रमेयं) அறிவதற்குச் சாதனமான கருவி (प्रमाणं) அறிவு (प्रमिति) என இந்நான்கு மல்லவா தோன்றுகின்றன வெனில் ஞானமொன்றே சிற்சில காரணங்களால் கீழ்ச் சொன்ன நாலுபடியாகவுமாகிறதெனக் கூறுகிறோம். அதெப்படியெனில் ஞானமொன்றே வெளி உருவத்துடன் தோன்றும்பொழுது ப்ரமேயமெனப்படுகிறது. அப்படித் தோற்றம்படிச் செய்விப்பதை முன்னிட்டுப் பிரமாணமாகிறது. தோன்றுவது தனக்கேயாதலால் ப்ரமாதாவாகிறது.<sup>8</sup> வெளிப் பொருள்கள் ஞானத்தின் உருவங்களேயாகையால் அவை தனித்துத் தோன்றுவதில்லை. ஞானமும் புறப் பொருள்களும் ஒரே வஸ்துவாக இருப்பதால்தான் அவை சேர்ந்தே தோன்றுகின்றன. தனிப்பொருள்

4. नहि स्वभावो भावानां प्रत्ययादिषु विद्यते ।  
अविद्यमाने स्वभावे परभावो न युज्यते ॥ (माध्यं. २०॥)
5. यथा माया यथा स्वप्नः गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।  
तथोत्पादः तथास्थानं तथा भंग उदाहृतः ॥ (माध्यं 75)
6. मरीचिप्रतिमं लोकमेवमस्तीति गृह्यतः ।  
नास्तीति चापि मोहोऽयं.....॥  
मरीचिं तोयमित्येतदिति मत्या गतोत्र सन् ।  
यदि नास्तीति तत्तोयं गृहीयान्मूढ एव सः ॥ (माध्यं. 61)
7. शून्यवाद् एव हि सुगतमतकाष्ठा ॥ श्री. भा.
8. अविभागोऽपि बुद्ध्यात्मा विपर्यासितदर्शनैः ।  
प्राज्ञप्राज्ञकसंविप्तिभेदवानिव लक्ष्यते ॥

களாக இருந்தால் சேர்ந்தே தோன்றக் காரணமில்லை யாகையால் தனித்தும் தோன்றக் கூடும்.<sup>9</sup> புறப்பொருள்களால் ஞான முண்டாயிருப்பது பற்றிச் சேர்ந்து தோன்றுமானால், குயவனால் உண்டாயிருக்கும் குடமும் குயவனோடு சேர்ந்தே தோன்ற வேண்டும். மேலும் பாஹ்ய பதார்த்தங்களைத் தனித்து ஒப்புக்கொள்ளு கிறவர்களை ஒன்று கேட்போம். நம்மால் அறியப்படும் புறப்பொருள்கள் அவை உண்டாகும் முன்னேயே நம்மால் அறியப்படுகின்றனவா? உண்டாகும் காலத் திலேயா? உண்டான பிறகா? உண்டாகும் முன்னே அப்பொருள்களில்லை யாதலால் அவைகளை யெப்படி அறியக்கூடும். ஞானம் உண்டாகும் முன்னேயே பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்டாயிருந்தாலன்றி அவை அறியப்பட முடியாதாகையால் உண்டாகும் காலத்திலேயே அவை அறியப்படுகின்றன வென்பதும் பொருந்தாது. கார்யங்களுக்கு முந்தியல்லவா காரணங்களிருக்க வேண்டும். உண்டானவுடனேயே பதார்த்தங்களழிந்து விடுவதால் இந்திரியங்களின் வாயிலாகப் பிறகும் அறியப்பட முடியாது. அழிந்து போன பதார்த்தங்களை ஞானத்தை உண்டு பண்ணுவதால் அவைகளே அறியப்படுகின்றன வென்றால் அக்காலத்தி லிருப்பவைகளாகத் தோன்றுவது எங்ஙனே பொருந்தும்? ஞானத்தை உண்டுபண்ணுவதால் அவைகளறியப்படுமேயானால் இந்திரியங்களும் ஞானத்தை உண்டுபண்ணுவதால் அவை களும் அறியப்படவேண்டாவோ. நிற்க புறப்பொருள்களாகச் சொல்லப்படும் வஸ்துக்கள் அணுமாத்திரங்களேயா? அல்லது அவற்றாலான அவயவியா? என்று கேட்கிறோம். அணுக்கள்தாமென்றால் அவை கண்ணுக்குப் புலப்படக் கூடியவைகளில்லை யாகையால் குடம் முதலியன கண்ணுக்குப்புலப்படாம லிருக்க வேண்டும். மேலும் அணுக்கள் பலவாயும் சிறியவைகளாயு மிருப்பதால் “ஒரு பெரிய குடம்” என்று தோன்றுவதும் பொருந்தாது. அணுக்கள் சிறியவைகளா யிருந்தாலும் அவற்றை யெல்லாம் சேர்ந்து ஒரு பொழுதில் அறியும் பொழுது பெரிய உருவமொன்று தோன்றுகிறதென்றால் அப்பொழுது உண்மையில் அணுக் களில் இல்லாத பெரிய உருவத்தை உள்ளது போல் அறிவது ப்ரமமாக வேண்டி வரும். அறியப்படுவது அணுக்களில்லை, அவற்றாலாகிய ஒரு அவயவி என்றால்<sup>10</sup> அந்த அவயவி பூராவாக அறியப்படுகிறதா? அல்லது அவற்றின் ஏகதேசமா என்று கேட்கிறோம். அவயவி பூராவிலும் இந்திரியங்களின் ஸம்பந்தம் ஏற்படுகிறதில்லை யாகையால் அதாவது பின்புறத்திலும் உட்புறத்திலும் இந்திரிய ஸம்பந்தமில்லை யாகையால் அவயவி பூராவாக அறியப்பட முடியாது. நீங்கள் சொல்லும் ஜாதி யென்பது எல்லா அவயவங்களிலும் பரவியிருப்பதால் சில அவயவங்களில் மாத்திரம் இந்திரிய ஸம்பந்த மேற்படுவதைக் கொண்டு “இது குடம்” என்று அறியப்பட முடியாது. ஆகையால் வெளித் தோற்ற மெல்லாம் ஞானத்தின் உருவங்களே.

9. सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदो नीलतद्वियोः ।

भेदश्च भ्रान्तिविज्ञानैः दृश्यतेन्दाविवाद्भये ॥

10. பௌத்தர்களுக்கு அவயவியென்று தனிப்பொருளொன்று கிடையாது.

இதுவிஷயம் மேலே நிரூபிக்கப்படும்.

அந்த ஞானம் ப்ரகாசம்போல் தானே தோன்றுவதால் வேறொன்றால் அறியப்பட வேண்டியதில்லை.<sup>11</sup> மேலும் எது தவறாமல் எதனால் அறியப்படுமோ அது அதைக் காட்டிலும் வேறன்று. ஆகையாலேயே ஆத்மா ஞானத்தால் அறியப்படுவதைக் கொண்டு வேதாந்திகள் ஆத்மாவை ஞானஸ்வரூபமென நிர்ணயித்திருக்கிறார்கள். வெளிப்பொருள்களொன்று மில்லையென்றால் ஞானம் பற்பல விதமாய்த் தோன்றக் காரணமென்ன? ஆக வெளிப் பொருள்களை ஒப்புக்கொண்டு அவற்றால் ஞானம் பற்பல விதமாய்த் தோன்றுவதாய்ச் சொல்லவேண்டாவோ வெளியில் வேண்டா. வெளிப்பொருள்களுக்கு நீங்கள் சொல்லும் உருவங்களைப் பற்பல வாஸனையால் ஞானத்துக்கே சொல்லுகிறோமாகையால் உண்மையில் வெளிப்பொருள்கள் இருக்க வேண்டிய அவசியமில்லை.<sup>12</sup> இதற்கு ஸ்வப்ன ஞானத்தை ஸாக்ஷியாக விசாரித்துக் கொள்ளலாம். வெளியில் தனிப் பொருள்கள் போலவும் அறிகின்றவன் போலவும் தோன்றுவெல்லாம் சந்திரன் இரண்டாகத் தோன்றுவதுபோல் ப்ரமமேயாகும். இங்கு அத்தைத் வேதாந்திகள் ஒரு பொருளை மாத்திரம் ப்ரமார்த்த ஸத்தியமாக ஒப்புக் கொண்டிருந்தாலும் அப்பொருளை நித்யமாகச் சொல்வதால் அவர்கள் தர்சனமும் சிறிது குற்றமுடையதே.<sup>13</sup>

### ஸௌத்ராந்திக வைபாடிக்கர்கள்

முதலில் இவ்விருவரின் பொதுவான கொள்கைகளை நிரூபிப்போம். யான் என்ற அகப்பொருளும் இதுவென்ற புறப் பொருளும் முறையே உள்ளும் புறமும் வேற்றுமை பெற்றுத் தெளிவாகத் தோன்றும் பொழுது சேர்ந்து தோன்றுவதைக் கொண்டு ஒரு பொருளாகச் சொல்ல முடியாது. சேர்க்கை யென்பதை இரண்டு வஸ்துக்களுக்குச் சொல்லலாமே யொழிய ஒன்றுக்குச் சொல்வ தெப்படி? ஆகச் சேர்ந்து தேன்றுகின்றன வென்கிற வார்த்தையிலிருந்தே பதார்த்தங்கள் ஒன்றுக்குமேல் இருக்க வேண்டுமென்பது ஏற்படுகிறது. மேலும் ஞானம் ஆத்மாவிலும் பொருள்கள் பூமியிலுமிருக்கும்பொழுது இரண்டும் ஒரிடத்தில் சேர்ந்து தோன்ற முடியாது. பொருள்கள் தோன்றிய பின்னே அவற்றைப் பற்றிய அறிவு ஏற்படவேண்டுமாதலால் அவை யிரண்டும் ஒரு காலத்தில் சேர்ந்தும் தோன்றமுடியாது. வெளியில் தோன்றும் பொருள்கள் ஞானத்தின் உருவமாய் அவைகளும் ஞானமாயிருந்தால் ஞானஸ்வரூபமான ஆத்மா “நான்” என்றுதோன்றுவது போல் வெளிப்பொருள்களும் “இது” வென்று தோன்றாமல் “நான்” என்றே தோன்ற வேண்டும். ஆகவே தனியே வெளிப்பொருள்களமிருக்க வேண்டுமாதலால் பதார்த்தங்களை அகப் பொருள் புறப்பொருள் (बाह्य. आभ्यन्तर) என இருவகையாகப் பிரிக்கிறோம். அவற்றுள் பாஹ்யம், பூதம் பௌதிகம் என

11. नान्योनुभाव्यो बुद्ध्यास्ति तस्या नानुभवोपरः। ग्राह्यग्राहकवैधुर्यात्स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते ॥

12. बाह्यो नविद्यतेह्यर्थः यथा बालैर्विकल्प्यते। वासनालुण्ठितं चित्तमर्थाकारं प्रवर्तते ॥

13. तेषामल्पापराधन्तु दर्शनं नित्यतोक्तिः। [तत्त्वसंग्रहे। p 123]



இருவகைப்படும். அவற்றில் பரமாணுக்களால் பூதங்களும் பூதங்களால் பௌதிகங்களும் ஏற்படுகின்றன. பரமாணுக்கள் ப்ருதிவீபரமாணு, ஜலபரமாணு, தேயுபரமாணு, வாயுபரமாணு வென நான்கு வகைப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அவற்றில் ரூபம், ஸ்பர்சம், ரஸம், கந்தம் இந்நான்கும் ப்ருதிவீபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும், 'ரூபஸ்பர்ச ரசங்கள் ஜலபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும், ரூபஸ்பர்சங்கள் தேயுபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும், ஸ்பர்சம் வாயுபரமாணுக்களின் ஸ்வபாவமென்பதும் தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன.<sup>14</sup> இங்கு ப்ருதிவீ முதலியவை பூதங்களென்றும் அவற்றாலாகிய சரீரம் இந்திரியம் முதலியன பௌதிகங்களென்றும் கூறப்படுகின்றன. பரமாணுக்களைத் தவிர அவயவி என்று தனித் தொன்றிருப்பதாகச் சொல்ல முடியாது. நூல்களைத் தவிர தனியே வஸ்திரத்தை பார்க்கிறோமா? நூல்களில் இல்லாத நிறமும் நிறையும் வஸ்திரத்தில் காணப்படுகிறதா? பரமாணுக்கள் தனித் தனியாக இருக்கும்பொழுது பார்க்கக்கூடியனவாயில்லை. ஆனால் ஒன்று சேரும் பொழுது அவைகளே பார்க்க கூடியனவாய் ஆகின்றன. ஒரு கயிற்றுக்குத்தனியாக ஓர் ரதத்தை இழுக்கக்கூடிய சக்தி இல்லாவிட்டாலும் பல கயிறுகள் சேரும்பொழுது அவைகள் அந்தச் சக்தி பெறுவதைப் பார்க்கவில்லையா.<sup>15</sup> ஆகையால் அவயவங்களே ஒன்று சேர்ந்து தோன்றும் பொழுது அவயவி எனப்படுகின்றனவே யொழிய வேறில்லை. இப்படியே நம் உள்ளடங்கி யிருக்கும் பொருள்களும் (आन्तरपदार्थ) சித்தம் என்றும் சைத்தம் என்றும் இருவகையாகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. இவற்றுக்கு ரூபஸ்கந்தம், விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்தம், வேதஞஸ்கந்தம், ஸம்ஜ்ஞாஸ்கந்தம், ஸம்ஸ்காரஸ்கந்தம் என ஐந்து ஸ்கந்தங்கள்<sup>16</sup> காரணமாகின்றன. இவற்றின் ஸமுதாயமே சித்தசைத்தங்களென்றும் பஞ்சஸ்கந்தீ யென்றும் வழங்கப்படுகிறது. இங்கு விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்தம் சித்தமெனவும் மற்றது சைத்த மெனவும் சொல்லப்படும். இவற்றுள் இந்திரியமும் பாஹ்ய விஷயங்களும்<sup>17</sup> ரூபஸ்கந்தமெனப்படும். அறியப்படும் வஸ்துக்கள் புறப்பொருள்களில் சேர்ந்திருந்தாலும் அவை அறியப்படும் பொழுது இந்திரியங்களின் வாயிலாக நம்முள் கலப்பதால் உட்பொருள்களாகவும் (आन्तरपदार्थ) ஆகக்குறையில்லை. ரூபஸ்கந்தம் தவிரப் பாக்கியுள்ளவைகளே சித்த சைத்தங்களில்சேருமென்று பாஸ்கரபாஷ்யத்தில்சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்தம் ஆலயவிஜ்ஞானம்(आलयविज्ञानम्) ப்ரவ்ருத்தி விஜ்ஞானம் (प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानम्) என்று இரு பிரிவுடையதாகிறது. இதில் 'நான்' என்று தோன்றிக்

14. ஆகாயமென்று ஐந்தாவது பூதத்தை இவர்கள் இசைவதில்லை.

15. प्रत्येकं दृश्ययोग्यवेष्यणूनां दृश्यताभवेत् । मेळने सति तन्तूनां नौकाद्याकृष्टिशक्तिवत् ॥

16. ஒவ்வொன்றில் பல பிரிவுகளிருப்பதால் இவை ஸ்கந்தமெனச் சொல்லப்படுகின்றன. ஸ்கந்தம், கிளை.

17. तत्र रूप्यन्ते एभिर्विषया इति रूप्यन्त इति चव्युत्पत्त्या सविषयाणीन्द्रियाणि रूपस्कधः [सर्वदर्शन संग्रहे]

கொண்டிருப்பது ஆலயவிஜ்ஞானம்.<sup>18</sup> இது வென்று இந்திரியங்களின் வாயிலாகத் தோன்றுவது ப்ரவருத்தி விஜ்ஞானம். இது அந்தவந்த இந்திரியங்களால் பல வகைப்பட்டிருக்கும். இவற்றால் உண்டாகும் சுகம் துக்கம் முதலியன வேதனாஸ்கந்தம். பசு, குதிரை, குடம் என்று வழங்கப்படும் சொற்கள் ஸம்ஜ்ஞாஸ்கந்தம். இவற்றின் வாஸனாருபமான ராகத்வேஷங்கள், புண்ய பாபங்கள் இவை ஸம்ஸ் காரஸ்கந்த மெனப்படுகின்றன. சிலர் பெயர், ரூபம் முதலியவையுடன் தெளிவாகத் தோன்றும் ஸவிகல்பகத்தை ஸம்ஜ்ஞாஸ்கந்த மென்றும் ஒரு பொருள் என்று மாத்திரம் பொதுவாகத் தோன்றும் நிர்விகல்பத்தை விஜ்ஞானஸ்கந்த மென்றும் சொல்கிறார்கள்.<sup>19</sup>

மற்ற தத்வசாஸ்திரிகளைப்போல் இவர்களும் தத்வஞானத்தால் ஸம்ஸாரம் கழிகிறதென்பதை அங்கீகரிக்கின்றனர். இங்கு கூணிகபதார்த்தங்களை ஸ்திரமென்றும் துக்கம் நிறைந்துள்ள ப்ரபஞ்சத்தை ஸம்கமென்றும் நினைத்து உழலுவதே ஸம்ஸாரமெனப்படுகிறது. தத்வங்கள் துக்கம், ஸமுதயம், நிரோதம், மார்க்கம் என நான்காக வகுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. இந்நான்கும் ஆரியஸத்யமென வழங்கப்படும். அகப்பொருள் புறப்பொருள் நிறைந்துள்ள இப்பிரபஞ்சமே துக்கம். இவற்றின் காரணம் ஸமுதயமெனப்படும். காரணமேறேதாபதிபந்தம் (ஹேதுபரிநிவ்ர்த்த) ப்ரத்யயோபதிபந்தம் (ப்ரத்யயோபரிநிவ்ர்த்த) என இருவகையாகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஒன்றோடொன்று<sup>20</sup> சேர்ந்த காரணக்குவியலை ப்ரத்யயோபதிபந்த மென்றும் தனித்த ஒரு காரணத்தை ஹேதுபதிபந்த மென்றும் கூறுகின்றனர். இவ்விரு காரணங்களைப் பெற்றுப் பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்டாவது பற்றி அவை ப்ரதீத்யஸமுத்பாதம் (ப்ரதீத்யஸமுத்பாதி) எனக் கூறப்படுகின்றன. ஆக இப்பிரபஞ்சம் கீழ்ச் சொல்லிய இரண்டு காரணங்களாலேயே உண்டாயிருப்பதால் ஈசுவரன் ஒருவனைக் காரணமெனச் சொல்லவேண்டியதில்லை.<sup>21</sup> துக்கமும் அதன் காரணமும் இல்லாமலிருப்பது நிரோத மெனப்படுகிறது. இந்த நிரோத மென்கிற நிர்வாணத்தை அடைய எட்டு வழிகள் காண்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அவை மார்க்கமெனச் சொல்லப்படும்.<sup>22</sup>

18. तस्यादालयविज्ञानं यद्भवेदहमास्पदम् । तस्याप्रवृत्तिविज्ञानंयज्ञीलादिकमुल्लिखेत् ॥

19. केचित्तु देवदत्तादिनामोल्लेखी सविकल्पकः प्रत्ययः संज्ञास्कंधइत्याहुः तन्मते निर्विकल्पकमेव विज्ञानस्कंधः । [शिवाकमणिदीपिकायाम्]

20. हेतुं हेतुं प्रत्ययन्ते हेत्वन्तराणीति तेषामयमानानां भावः प्रत्ययः, हेतूनां समवाय इति यावत् [भामती.]

21. “इदं प्रत्ययफलम्” बुद्धसूत्रम् । இப்பிரபஞ்சம் காரணங்கள் பலசேர்ந்து உண்டாயிருக்கிறது.

22. 1सम्यग्दृष्टिः 2सम्यक्संकल्पः, 3सम्यग्वाक् 4सम्यक्कर्म 5सम्यगाजीवः 6सम्यगव्यवसायः, 7 सम्यक्संज्ञा, 8सम्यक्समाधिः.

இங்கு “நான்” என்ற ஆலயவிஜ்ஞானம் எப்பொழுதும் தோன்றிக் கொண்டிருக்க குடம் பசு என்றூற்போல் தோன்றும் ப்ரவ்ருத்திவிஜ்ஞானம் சிலஸமயங்களில் மாத்திரம் தோன்றக் காரணமென்ன? ஆலம்பனம், (आलम्बन) ஸமனந்தரம், (समनन्तरम्) ஸஹகாரி (सहकारि) அதிபதி (अधिपति) என்ற இந்நான்கும் ப்ரவ்ருத்திவிஜ்ஞானத்தின் காரணமாய்ச் சொல்லப்படுகின்றன. வெளிப்பொருள்கள் ஆலம்பன மென்றும் அவற்றால் ஒவ்வொரு க்ஷணமும் புதிது புதிதாக உண்டாக்கப்படும் அவை போன்ற பொருள்கள் ஸமனந்தரமென்றும், வெளிச்சம் முதலியன ஸஹகாரி யென்றும் அந்த அந்தப் பொருள்களை அறியவல்ல அந்தவந்த இந்நிரியங்கள் அதிபதி யென்றும் கூறப்படுகின்றன. எவ்வித வஸ்துக்களும் தங்களைக்குறித்துக் காட்டும் விசேஷ மொன்றையும் தங்களிடம் வைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கவில்லை யாகையால் அப்படி விசேஷங்களுடையதாக ஒரு பொருளையறிவது ப்ரமாணமாகாது. ஆகையாலேயே ஸவிகல்பகஜ்ஞானம் ப்ரமாணமாக மாட்டாதென்றும் விசேஷங்களொன்றையும் தோன்றச் செய்யாத நிர்விகல்பக ஜ்ஞானம் ப்ரமாணமென்றும் வ்யவஹரிக்கப்படுகிறது.<sup>23</sup> ஒவ்வொரு வஸ்துவிலும் ஜாதி முதலிய விசேஷங்க ளிருப்பதால் அவை சேர்ந்து தோன்றுவது ப்ரமாணமாக மாட்டாதோ வெனில், சொல்லுகிறோம். ஜாதி யென்பது தனியே ஒவ்வொரு பொருள்களிலுமிருப்பதாகச் சொல்லுகிறவர்களைக் கேட்கவேண்டும். ஒரு வஸ்துவி லிருக்கும் ஜாதி, புதிதாக அது போன்ற வேறு வஸ்து உண்டாகும் பொழுது அப் புதிய வஸ்துவிலும் நடந்து செல்லக்கூடுமா? த்ரவ்யங்களைத் தவிர மற்ற வஸ்துக்களில் க்ரியை ஏற்படு மென்று ஒருவரும் சொல்லவில்லையே. பூமியில் ஒரு குடமிருக்கும்பொழுது ஜாதி பூமியில் ஸம்பந்தப்படாமல் அந்தக் குடத்தின் அவயவங்களிலேயே ஸம்பந்தித்திருக்கிற தெனச் சொல்லக் காரணமென்ன. குடம் உண்டாகும் முன்னேயே ஜாதி மண் உருண்டையில் இருக்குமானால் மண் உருண்டையும் குடமென அறியப்படவேண்டும். குடம் உண்டாகும்பொழுது ஜாதியும் உண்டாகிற தெனச் சொன்னால் ஜாதி நித்யமாகாது. ஜாதி அவயவ மில்லாததெனச் சொல்வதால் பழைய குடத்திலிருந்து கொண்டே ஜாதி புதிய குடத்திலும் சில அவயவங்களுடன் பரவுகிறதெனச் சொல்ல முடியாது. பழைய குடத்திலிருந்து ஜாதி பூராவாகப் புதிய குடத்தில் சென்று விட்டால் பழைய குடத்தைக் குடமென்று அறிவதெப்படி. ஆக ஜாதியை ஒப்புக்கொள்வதில் பல கஷ்டங்கள் நேருவதால் அல்லாத வஸ்துக்களைக்காட்டிலுமுள்ள வேறுபாட்டைக் கொண்டே (अपोहव्यावृत्ति) ஸகலவ்யவஹாரங்களும் நடப்பதாகச் சொல்ல வேண்டும்.<sup>24</sup> இப்படி விசேஷமொன்று

23. कल्पनापोदमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षनिर्विकल्पकम् ।

विकल्पो वस्तुनिर्भासा दसंवादादुपप्लवः ॥

24. अन्यन्न वर्तमानस्य ततोऽन्यस्थानजन्मनि । तस्मादचलतः स्थानाद्वृत्तिरित्यतियुक्ता । यत्रासौ वर्तते भावः तेन सम्बध्यते नतु । तद्वैशिनंच व्याप्नोति किमप्येतन्महाद्भुतम् ॥ नयाति नचतत्रासी दस्तिपश्चाद्भवां शवत् । जहातिपूर्वं नाधारमहो व्यसनसन्ततिः ॥

மில்லை யாகையாலே பதார்த்தங்கள் ஸ்வலக்ஷண (स्वलक्षण) மெனச் சொல்லப் படுகின்றன.

அநுமானத்தில் வ்யாப்தி அதன் ஸ்வபாவத்தாலும் கார்யங்களாலும் அறியப்படுகிறது. சிம்சபாவ்ருக்ஷத்துக்கு மரமாக விருப்பதே ஸ்வபாவ மாகையால் இவை யிரண்டுக்கும் வ்யாப்தி அறியப்பட்டுச் சிம்சபையாக விருப்பதால் மரமாக விருப்பது அநுமிக்கப்படுகிறது. புகை நெருப்பின் காரியமா யிருப்பதால் அவை யிரண்டுக்கும் வ்யாப்தி அறியப்படுகிறது. பரார்த்தாநுமானத்துக்கும் (परार्थानुमानम्) உதாஹரணம்<sup>25</sup> (उदाहरणम्) உபநயம்<sup>26</sup> (उपनयः) என இரண்டே அவயவங்கள் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன.

### ஸௌத்ராந்திகர்

பாஹ்ய பதார்த்தங்கள் உண்மையிலிருந்தாலும் அவைகள் ப்ரத்யக்ஷத்தால் அறியக்கூடியவைகள்ல்ல. உண்டானவுடன் அழிந்துவிடும் பதார்த்தங்களை ப்ரத்யக்ஷத்தால் அறிவதெப்படி? ஆகவே உண்டாகும் வஸ்துக்கள் தம்மைப்பற்றிப் ஞானத்தில் தமது உருவத்தைக் கொடுத்து நசித்து விடுகின்றன. பிறகு பாவை யினால் தேசம் போலவும் புஷ்டியால் போஜனம் போலவும் யானையின் அடியால் யானைபோலவும் ஞானத்தின் உட்சென்ற உருவத்தால் அவ்வுருவத்துக்குக் காணமான பதார்த்தங்கள் அநுமிக்கப்படுகின்றன. பதார்த்தங்கள் க்ஷணிகங்களாகையால் அவை தம்போன்ற வஸ்துக்களை ஒவ்வொரு க்ஷணமும் உண்டு பண்ணிக் கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. ஞானமும் ஒவ்வொரு க்ஷணமும் நசிப்பவாஹம்போல் உண்டாய்க் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. ப்ரதிக்ஷணமும் உண்டாய்க் கொண்டிருக்கும் பொருள்கள் ப்ரதிக்ஷணமும் உண்டாய்க் கொண்டிருக்கும் ஞானத்தில் தமது உருவத்தைக் கொடுக்கின்றன. அவ்வுருவத்தால் வெளிப்பொருள்கள் ஊஹித்தறியப்படுகின்றன. வெளிப்பொருள்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றுக்கும் ஞானத்தில் தமது உருவத்தைக் கொடுக்கும் சக்தியிருப்பதைக் கொண்டு அவைகள் அறியப்படுகின்றனவாய்ச் சொல்லப்படுகிறதே யொழிய வேறில்லை.<sup>27</sup> இவ்வர்த்தமே “நிலையில்லாப்

25. புகையுள்ள விடமெல்லாம் நெருப்புள்ளது. சமையலறைபோல

26. இங்கேபுகையிருக்கிறது.

இதிலிருந்தே புகையிருப்பதால் நெருப்புமிருக்கிறதென ஏற்பட்டு விடுவதால், ஆகையால் நெருப்புமிருக்கிறதென தனித்துச்சொல்லவேண்டா.

27. भिन्नकालं कथं ग्राह्यं इति चेद्ग्राह्यतां विदुः ।

हेतुत्व मेवचव्यक्ते ज्ञानाकारार्पणक्षमम् ॥

अर्थेन घटयत्येनां नहि मुक्तवार्थरूपताम्

तस्मात्प्रमेयाधिगतेः प्रमाणं मेयरूपता ॥

பொருண்மதியை விளைத்துத்தான்சேர்நிறங் கொடுத்துத்தானழியுந் தன்னால் வந்த நிலையில்லாமதி தன்னி னிறத்தைக்காணுமிது காணும் பொருள் காண்கையென்றீசன் ” என்று பரமதபங்கத்தில் வெளியிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

### வைபாடிகர்

எல்லாப் பொருள்களும் ஞானத்தின் உருவத்தால் அநுமிக்கப்படுகின்றன வென்பது சொல்லமுடியாது. ப்ரத்யக்ஷத்தில் பல விடங்களில் ஹேது ஸாத்திய (साध्य) ங்களுக்கு ஸம்பந்தமிருப்பதைக் கண்டு கொண்ட பின்னரே புதிய விடத்தில் ஒன்றைப்பார்த்து மற்றொன்றை அநுமிக்கக் கூடும். பலவிடங்களில் பல தடவை, புகையிருக்கு மிடமெல்லாம் நெருப்பும் தவறாமல் இருந்து வருவதை ப்ரத்யக்ஷமாய் பார்த்தவன்தான் புதிய விடத்தில் புகையைப் பார்த்ததும் நெருப்பை அநுமிக்கக்கூடும். ஆகையால் ஒரு பொழுதும் வெளிப்பொருள்கள் ப்ரத்யக்ஷங்களல்ல வென்றால் அவைகளை அநுமிப்பதும் இயலாதகாரியம்.

பௌத்தவரித்தார்த்தத்தில் பன்னிரண்டு பதார்த்தங்களை பூஜிப்பது விசேஷமாய்க் கொண்டாடப்படுகிறது. அது த்வாதசாயதனபூஜா (द्वादशायतन पूजा) என்று வழங்கப்படும். கர்மேந்திரியங்கள் ஐந்து ஞானேந்திரியங்கள் ஐந்து மனது புத்தி ஆக இப்பன்னிரண்டுமே அவர்களால் பூஜிக்கப்படுகின்றன.<sup>28</sup> பௌத்த பிக்ஷுக்கள் யானைத்தோலோடும் கையில் கமண்டலுவோடும் அங்கங்கே கூட்டம் கூட்டமாய்ச்சென்று மதப்ரசாரம் செய்து கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். அவர்கள் முன் பகலிலேயே பூஜிப்பார்கள். தலையை மொட்டையடித்துக் கொண்டு சிவப் புடையணிந்து கொண்டிருப்பார்கள்.<sup>29</sup> சில ஆராய்ச்சிக்காரர்கள், கோயில் கட்டுவது, விக்ரஹபூஜை, உலகநன்மையை முன்னிட்டு மதப்ரசாரத்துக்குக் குடும் பத்தை விட்டு ஸந்யாஸாசிரமம் எடுத்துக் கொள்வது, முதலியன பௌத்தர்களிடமிருந்து ஆரியர்கள் கற்றுக் கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டுமென அபிப்பிராயப்படுகிறார்கள்.

28. अर्थानुपार्ज्यबहुशः द्वादशायतनानि वै । परितः पूजनीयानि किमन्यैरिह-  
हेतुभिः । ज्ञानेन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव तथा कर्मेन्द्रियाणि च ॥ मनोबुद्धिरिति प्रोक्तं  
द्वादशायतनं बुधैः ॥

चतुर्णामिह बौद्धानां तत्त्वस्थितिरुदाहृता ।

आत्रेयश्रीनिवासार्यपण्डितेन समासतः ॥

29. कृत्तिः कमण्डलु मौण्डयं चीरं पूर्वाह्नभोजनम् । संघोरक्ताम्बरत्वं च शिश्रिये  
बौद्धमिच्छुभिः ॥

**Annamalai University Sanskrit Series: No. 2.**

## **SABAPATHI VILASA NATAKA**

*—Mm. Dandapaniswami Dikshitar.*



तद्भूयोप्यभिधीयते । यथा—

देवस्त्वय्यनुकंपते स भगवान्मुग्धेन्दुचूडामणिः  
द्रष्टा तत्र चिदम्बरे खलु भवानानन्दनृतं विभोः ।  
यद्वृत्तं किल दारुकावनतले तन्नर्तकैः प्रस्तुतं  
दृश्यं तद्भवता च दृश्यमधुना श्रीमूलनाथान्तिके ॥ १ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(सानन्दमुत्थाय, नृत्यन्सहस्तताडनम् )

पूर्वैराचरितं पचेलिममिदं तन्मय्यनन्तं तपः  
सर्वस्यापि मनोरथस्य नियतं पारेपदं प्राप्यते ।  
भाग्याय स्पृहयन्ति मे त्रिभुवने ये भक्तिमन्तः शिवे  
नन्दी सन्दिशति स्म यन्ममकृते त्वामुक्तिरन्याविभोः ॥ २ ॥

भानुकंपः—सखे ! व्याघ्रपाद ! देवादेशकराणां नोचितमेकत्र सुचिरमवस्थानम् । तदे-  
तादृशपरस्परसल्लापसुधारसास्वादभङ्गसाहसस्य प्रथमे वयं कर्तारः ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—भगवन् ! किं ब्रवामि ? सर्वथा परिपाल्योऽयम् ।

(भानुकंपो निष्क्रान्तः)

कौण्डिन्यः—आअरिअ ! भवन्तस्स सिरिमूलणाहस्स अवम्मणसगोअरो पसादा-  
दिसओ । मम विखु मणो पेक्खणाआलोअणदिण्णक्खणो । ता तुवरेदु  
पुज्जपादो ॥ (आचार्य ! भगवतः श्रीमूलनाथस्यावाञ्जनसगोचरः प्रसादाति-  
शयः । ममापि खलु मनः प्रेक्षणकालोकनदत्तक्षणम् । तस्मात्त्वरतां पूज्यपादः)

व्याघ्रपादः—भवतु ; प्रेक्षिष्यसे (परिक्रामति)

(नेत्रयेशंखध्वनिः)



व्याघ्रपादः—हन्त ! मध्याह्नः संवृतः । (ऊर्ध्वमवलोक्य) ललाटन्तपः तपति घर्माशुः ।  
(शिवगंगाभिमुखमवलोक्य) ।

खरद्युतिकरोद्धमक्वथितशीधुपाथोरुहं  
तटान्ततरुवासिभिः सभयमीक्ष्यते षट्पदैः ।  
विकस्वरगरुत्पुटस्थगितलक्ष्मणस्सारसः  
तरङ्गकुलडोलिकाविहरणं विहायोत्थितः ॥ ३ ॥

किञ्च ;

आयातान्पर्णशालाङ्गणविटपितलादासरस्तीरमारात्  
स्नानायैवोज्जिहाना रविकरविवशानन्तरा स्थापयित्वा ।  
सद्यः स्नानार्द्रचीराञ्चलगलितपयोबिन्दुसिक्तान्तरालं  
मन्दं मन्दं नयन्ते किमपि मृगशिशून् मार्गमेते मुनीन्द्राः ॥ ४ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—(ससंभ्रमम्)

पअण्डतवणातवूगमलुढन्तपत्तिच्छटा-  
विलोलविडपञ्चला तडमहीरुहा संपदम् ।  
जलन्तपरिदापिदा भसलचक्कचक्कङ्का  
हुअन्ति णिअअं पुणो णिअजडालवालन्तरे ॥ ५ ॥

इदो अ ।

एदे ण्हाणत्तसोक्खा विरइदभसिदालेवणा चिन्दअन्तो  
देवं रुद्धक्खमालाखलखलमुहरीभूददेवालअन्तो ।  
मण्णन्तो चण्डचण्डहुइकिरणभरं चन्दिमां देवभत्ता  
सेवाए संभुणो दे किमवि तदइदो संपदं णीसरन्ति ॥ ६ ॥

[ प्रचण्डतपनातपोद्गमलुठत्पतत्रिच्छटा  
विलोलविटपाञ्चलाः तटमहीरुहास्सांप्रतम् ।

जलान्तपरितापितान्भ्रमरचक्रचक्राङ्ककान्  
ह्वयन्ति नियतं पुनर्निजजटालवालान्तरे ॥

इतश्च

एते स्नानात्तसौख्या विरचितभसितालेपनाश्चिन्तयन्तो  
देवं रुद्राक्षमालाकलकलमुखरीभूतदेवालयान्ताः ।  
मन्यन्तश्चण्डचण्डद्युतिकिरणभरं चन्द्रिकां देवभक्ताः  
सेवायै शम्भोः ते किमपि तत इतस्सांप्रतं निस्सरन्ति ॥ ]

व्याघ्रपादः—सम्यगुपलक्षितं वत्सेन । तथाहि—

कृतस्नपनमङ्गलास्सरसि पावनेऽस्मिन्यरि-  
स्फुरद्भसितलेपनाः करविवर्तिताक्षस्रजः ।

अमी भुवनमङ्गलायितनिजावताराचरात्  
परं किमिह सेवया सफल्यन्ति जन्मेशितुः ॥ ७ ॥

तदिदानीमनुष्ठितमाध्यदिनाःसभाजयामोभगवन्तम् (इतियथोक्तमभिनयन् गृही-  
तफलमूलः—शिवगंगातीरमागत्य मुकुलिताक्षस्तिष्ठति ॥)

कौण्डिन्यः—(सनिर्वेदम्; स्वगतम्) अंहो ! अअमेवमणिदरवावारो मुउलिदकुखो  
गमेइ कालम् । महवु बम्मलोअसेल्लसणट्टविज्जाविलोअणफुरन्तमाणसम्म किंपि  
अण्णं णण्पडिभाइ । होदु इम सण्णिहिदं सन्धासमअं वण्णिऊअ धाणप्पडिणि-  
वृत्तचित्तं आअरिअं करिस्सम् । (प्रकाशम्) आअरिअ ! परिणदो वासरो

तथाहि—

सपदि मुउलिदेहिं पम्मिणी पङ्कगहिं  
 भसलहिअअवञ्छाभङ्गमङ्गीकरोइ ।  
 विहटइ कुडिलेण देवजोएण एहिम्  
 मिहुणमविअ चक्काआण राआउलाणम् ॥ ८ ॥

[हन्त ! अयमेवं अनितरव्यापारः केवलं मुकुलिताक्षो गमयति कालम् । मम खलु  
 ब्रह्मलोकशैलूषनाट्यविद्याविलोकनस्फुरन्मानसस्य किमप्यन्यन्न प्रतिभाति ॥ भवतु ;  
 इमं सन्निहितं सन्ध्यासमयं वर्णयित्वा ध्यानप्रतिनिवृत्तचित्तं आचार्यं करिष्यामि ॥  
 आचार्य ! परिणतो वासरः ।

तथाहि—

सपदि मुकुलिताक्षैः पद्मिनी पङ्कजैः  
 भ्रमरहृदयवाञ्छाभङ्गमङ्गीकरोति ।  
 विघटते कुटिलेन दैवयोगेनेदानीं  
 मिथुनमपिच चक्रवाकानां रागाकुलानाम् ॥ ]

व्याघ्रपादः—(प्रतीचीमवलोक्य) हन्त ! गतं दिवसेन ।

अविरतपरिवाहैरातपैहन्यमाना-  
 दनलकणकदम्बैरुद्गतैस्सूर्यकान्तात् ।  
 अयमधिपतिरह्नां तर्कये तप्तगात्रः  
 पतति हि यदमुष्मिन् पश्चिमाम्भोधिमध्ये ॥ ९ ॥

(शिवगंगामवलोक्य साश्चर्यम् )

प्रेयस्या सममापिबन् मधुरसानम्भोरुहाभ्यन्तरे  
 किञ्चित्पत्रविकारदर्शनवशादुज्जीय कौतूहलात् ।

सद्यःसङ्कुचिताम्बुजेन दयितां वीतां विलोक्य भ्रमा-  
ज्जङ्कुर्वन्विलुठन्पुरो वितपते हा हन्त पुष्पन्धयः ॥ १० ॥

(नेपथ्ये महलध्वनिः)

कौण्डिन्यः—तुवेदु आअरिओ । जं भरदेहिं उवक्खित्तम् ॥ (त्वरतामाचार्यः यद्भरतैरु  
पक्षितम् ॥)

व्याघ्रपादः—(सस्मितम्) वत्स ! एषज्ञटिति निर्वर्त्यते सन्ध्यावन्दनविधिः । (तथाकृत्वा  
त्वरामभिनयन्) एतद्भगवतः श्रीमूलनाथस्य सन्निधानम् । (कर्णं दत्वा साश्चर्यम्)

प्रचलितघनबर्हच्छत्रमुद्धूतनिद्रैः  
मदकलकलकेकैः केकिभिः श्रूयमाणा ।  
सकलविकटकूटासङ्गजातावलम्भा  
मुखरयति मृदङ्गाहङ्क्रिया दिक्तटानि ॥ ११ ॥

(सरभसं परिक्रम्य ; अवलोक्यच) अये ! शिवभक्तप्रायेयं सभा ।

अस्यां शैवसभायां मध्ये श्रीमूलनायको देवः ।  
नायकमणिरिव मौक्तिकमालायां राजते दिव्यः ॥ १२ ॥

(विलोक्य) एते खलु सामाजिकास्सभाजयन्ति माम् । तद्देवस्य समीप एव तिष्ठामि ।  
(तथा तिष्ठति)

(अथगर्भाङ्कः)

(प्रविश्य सूत्रधारः ।)

विनाध्वरस्य राजानमध्वरं कलयन्मदात् ।  
दक्षो व्यापादितो येन नमस्तस्मै पिनाकिने ॥ १३ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—द्वादशपदेयं नान्दी ; तत्प्रस्तयताम् ।

सूत्रधारः—भोः ! भोः ! पुरशासनपदारविन्दनिरन्तरसेवानिर्निद्रसकलकलाविस्ताराः ! सभास्ताराः ! सवनिष वोनुज्ञापयति सत्यलोकवास्तव्यो रङ्गशशाङ्को नाम भरताचार्यप्रसादपात्रं शैलूषकिशोरः । अयमहमादिष्टोस्मि भगवतः परमेस्वरस्य द्वितीयविग्रहेण सकलजगदानन्दिना नन्दिना ; यथा—“ पुण्डरीकपुरवासिनः श्रोमूलनायकस्य सन्निधाने किमप्यभिनवं रूपकं नाटयितव्य ” मिति । अस्ति किञ्चिद्दृश्यमभिनवमस्मद्गुरुचरणैरासूत्रितं दारुकावनविलासाभिधानम् । तदधुना तत्रभवद्भिः प्रसादीकृतमवधानमभ्यर्थये । अथवा—

कथावस्तुनि सन्दर्भे तथाभिनयभङ्गिषु ।

माधुर्यं यदि रज्यन्ति सन्तः तद्याङ्ग्यया कृतम् ॥ १३ ॥

(पुरोवलोक्य)

प्राची पाण्डुमुखी पुरो यवनिकालीलां समालम्बते

ज्योत्स्ना कन्दलिकोदयारुणतरा धत्ते प्रदीपश्रियम् ।

नक्षत्राणि विवृण्वते ततः पुष्पाञ्जलिप्रक्रियां

मन्ये नर्तितुकाम एष गगने नेपथ्यगूढः शशी ॥ १४ ॥

(नेपथ्येध्रुवा गीयते)

खण्ड इव सत्यमेतद्विभाति यन्मायया विश्वम् ।

भूमौ सोप्यवतीर्णः साकं शक्त्या समस्तमोहिन्या ॥ १५ ॥

सूत्रधारः—अये ! उपक्रान्तं भरतपुत्रैः । यदियमवलम्बितमोहिनीवेषेण महाविष्णुना सनाथीकृतपार्श्वस्य भगवतः कामशासनस्य प्रावेशिकी ध्रुवा ; तदहमप्यनन्तरकरणीयाय सज्जीभवामि । (निष्क्रान्तः)

(प्रस्तावना)

(ततः प्रविशति मोहिनीरूपेण विष्णुना सह देवो नन्दिकेश्वरश्च ॥  
नन्दिकेश्वरः—(स्वगतम्) अहो ! भगवतो वाञ्छानुरूपा भूमिकापरिग्रहोपकरणसामग्री  
तथाहि—

अजनि शिरसि गंगा मलिकादाम फाले  
तिलकमलिकनेत्रं कैतकं चन्द्रेखा ।  
मृगमदमपि कण्ठे कालकूटांशुपूरः  
भुजगपरिवृद्धास्ते भूषणं तत्तदङ्गे ॥ १६ ॥

(प्रकाशम्) इत इतो देवः ।

देवः—(परिक्रम्य) सखे ! नारायण ! कोयं अनवरतकर्माचरणपरिणतविवेकिनामपि  
तपस्विनामन्तःकरणकलङ्कः ? । यमनीश्वरमेव कर्म कारणमिति मन्वते ।

मोहिनी—देव ! रोचते मद्यमिदानीं वेषानुरूपभाषाभियोगः ।

देवः—यदभिलषितं भवत्याः ।

मोहिनी—णाह ! एषु दयारसविमुहो देवो ; ताणं ईरिसा तारिसाअ भामविसेसा प्फडि-  
प्फुरन्ति । होदु रक्खणिज्जा एव्व अण्णापडिवालआ एरे मुणीन्दा । (नाथ !  
येषु दयारसविमुखो देवः, तेषामीदृशाः तादृशाश्च भ्रमिविशेषाः परिस्फुरन्ति ।  
भवतु रक्षणीया एवाज्ञापरिपालका एते मुनीन्द्राः ।

देवः—प्रिये ! कः संशयः ? रक्षणीया इति ; किन्तु दुरहङ्कारभङ्गमेवैषामभिलषामि ।

मोहिनी—तह (तथा)

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

**कौण्डिन्यः**—आअरिअ ! को इमो विविहमणिभूसणभूसिअङ्गो करकलिअकणअवेत्त-  
लदो मुत्तिमन्तो विअ मम्महो ? एसाअका ? अयञ्चको ? (आचार्य ! विविधमणि-  
भूषणभूषिताङ्गः करकलितकनकवेत्रलतो मूर्तिमानिव मन्मथः ? एषाचका ?  
अयञ्चकः ?)

**व्याघ्रपादः**—वत्स ! नोचितमस्यां सभायामुच्चैयैत्किञ्चिदभिधातुम् । (कर्णे एवमिव)

**कौण्डिन्यः**—(करतलपिहितवदनो निशम्य सानन्दंस्वगतम्) अहो ! गहीदविडवे-  
सो देवो महादेवो । कहां मोहिनीवेसंतरिदो भवन्तोऽपि पङ्क-  
जवको । कहां णन्दी अ ! हन्त णट्टआणं अहिणअकोसलम्  
जं सच्छं विअ, पेक्खामि ॥

(हन्त ! गृहीतविटवेषो देवो महादेवः । कथं मोहिनीवेषान्तरितो भगवा-  
नपि पङ्कजाक्षः । कथं नन्दोच अहो नर्तकानामभिनयकौशलम् । यत्सत्यमिव  
पश्यामि ।) (प्रमोदते)

**व्याघ्रपादः**—क्रियासमभिहारनिरुद्धोपि अश्रान्तकन्दलितः, अ.नन्दवाष्पपूरः (इति  
चीराञ्चलेन मार्जयति)

**नन्दिकेश्वरः**—(परिक्रम्यावलोक्यच) एतत् पुरो दारुवनम् ।

पर्णगृहवाटिकेयं यमिनां पुरतो विलोक्यते यत्र ॥

धर्मजयस्तम्भधियं दिशति निचङ्खन्यमानयूपाली ॥ १७ ॥

किञ्च

यथाविधिहुताहुतेस्सिमिसिमायमानानलो-

लसद्बहुलधूम्यया कबलिताखिलाशान्तरः ।

उपांशुगदिता गिरोप्यहह याज्ञिकैर्द्राघयन् ॥

वपापरिमलोर्मिलो वलति गन्धवाहाङ्कुरः ॥ १८ ॥

देवः—(पुरोऽवलोक्य सानन्दम्) कथमयममरपतिदिशामुखमलङ्करोति रोहिणीपरिणीः ।

नन्दी— परिक्षतवपुष्टया जलनिधौ कुलै र्यादसां  
भयादधिकलोहितः प्रथमशैलमारूढवान् ॥  
चकोरतरुणोच्चलत्पदुसृपाटिकाकर्षणा-  
नमत्करतया पुरश्चलति मन्दमन्दं शशी ॥ १९ ॥

अपिच—

ध्वान्तध्वस्तसमस्तलोकपुनरुत्पत्तिस्वतन्त्राब्जभूः  
शृङ्गारोपनिषद्रहस्यवचसां वेद्यं परं ब्रह्म तत् ।  
दुःसाधाधिकमानकाननमहाकौठारिको योषितां  
रोदःपञ्जरराजहंसतरुणश्चन्द्रो जरीजृम्भ्यते ॥ २० ॥

मोहिनी—(विलोक्य)

एहिं सन्तमसद्विफेहिलपओपूरन्दिकंसाहिदं  
पोखितं णवणीदअं णहसरंपच्चगगोरम्भुअम् ।  
पाईराअसुदापटीरतिलअं सामावधूवारुणी-  
संपुण्णोज्जलरूपभाअणमिमोच्छन्दो णहं गाहइ ॥ २१ ॥

(इदानीं सन्तमसाब्धिफेनिलपयपूराढ्यकंसाहितं  
प्रोक्षितं नवनीतकं नभस्सरःप्रत्यग्रगौराम्बुजम् ।  
प्राचीराजसुतापटीरतिलकं इयामावधूवारुणी-  
संपूर्णोज्ज्वलरूप्यभाजनमयं चन्द्रो नभो गाहते ॥)

अविअ

उम्मीलन्तसुदूरओत्पलणवाणन्दकन्दोट्टसेज्जा-  
सुत्तोम्मत्तपुप्फन्धअतरुणमहाझंकिआपुंघिआसो ।  
एसो णीरन्धआन्तपडिबडसुफदारत्तमुट्टिप्पहार  
पेक्खुंभिजन्तदेहपुणकिणकणिआसक्किआक्को मिआक्को ॥ २२ ॥



(अपिच)

(उन्मोलदंशुदूरोत्पतननवनवानन्दनीलोत्पलशय्या-  
सुसोदबुद्धपुष्पन्धयतरुणमहाझंक्रियापुंघिताशः ।  
एषो नीरन्त्रध्वान्तप्रतिभटसुभटारब्धमुष्टिप्रहार-  
प्रक्षुभ्यदेहपूर्णकिणकणिकाशङ्किकताङ्को मृगाङ्कः ॥)

नन्दी—

केयं गौरवपुः शशीति भुवने भ्रान्ति र्जरोजृम्भ्यते  
यद्दृष्टः प्रथमाचलेन्द्रशिखरे बन्धूकगुच्छच्छविः ।  
दूरोत्पातभवश्रमोदयविलोलोत्सङ्गरङ्गन्मिष-  
द्रोमन्थथोद्धतफेनपुञ्जपिहितं शङ्के विधो र्मण्डलम् ॥ २३ ॥

देवः—(ज्योत्स्नातिशयं विभाव्य, सस्मितम् ।

ज्योत्स्नेत्युत्सवमावहन्ति जनाता मिथ्यैव दुग्धार्णवा-  
ज्जातः कश्चन चन्द्रमा इति परं डिन्डीरपिण्डो महान् ॥  
तस्यैतस्य वियद्विलम्बनपरिश्रान्तस्य लोकानिमा-  
नंहो दुर्दिनयन्ति दुग्धरूचयः स्वेदाम्बुपूरोर्मयः ॥ २४ ॥

नन्दिकेश्वरः—(विहस्य)

यच्छीतद्युतिमण्डले विदलितस्वाराण्मणिश्यामलं  
चिह्नं किञ्चन तन् मृगाश्श इति ह्याचक्षते केचन ॥  
गाढानङ्गशरज्वर्यतिकरक्षीणाध्वगप्रेयसी-  
चञ्चलोचनतारकारुचिश्चरी ममेति मन्यामहे ॥ २५ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—आअरिअ ! कोइमो परिहासपसेलववहारो देवाणंवि (आचार्य ! कोऽयं  
परिहासपेशलव्यवहारो देवानामपि ॥)

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! अयमिदानीं देवो लीलया मुनिजनव्यामोहमापतिष्यन्नचरमरस  
इव मूर्तिमाननङ्गशासनः; तदनुगुणमेव यत्किञ्चिद्व्यवहरति । भवतु, पश्यामः ॥

देवः—(कतिचित्पदानि गत्वा; पुरोऽवलोक्य)

अकपटवचोबीजावापस्थली यमिनामियं  
वितरति दृशोरातिथ्यं नश्चिरादुटजावली ।  
इह हि वहति घ्राणायुष्यं घनैरिव मूर्तिमान्  
स्थगितगगनैर्धूमैर्हैग्यङ्गवीनपरीमलः ॥ २६ ॥

नन्दी—(सोलासम्)

समुन्मीलज्ज्वालापरिमुषितधूमोऽपिसवन-  
क्रियाशीलाम्नायव्यवहरणधूतध्वनिरपि ।  
हुताशो दीप्ताशो रसयति पुरोडाशमिह नो  
विमुञ्चन्नीरन्ध्रं दिशि दिशि च सौरभ्यलहरीम् ॥ २६ ॥

तदिदानीं हूयमानपशुपुरोडाशमेदुरहुताशरोचिरुद्दीपितेषु ससंभ्रमप्रस्तोतृसमुद्गीयमा-  
नसमाकर्णनहृष्यदभ्यर्णमृगतर्णकेषु, याजकगणप्रवर्तमानस्वर्ग्यप्रवर्ग्याहुतिपूतेषु परिसरोद्देशेषु  
तावत्सञ्चरामः ॥

मोहिनी—णाह! अवरोक्खिअफलो खु अअं जण्णो मुणीन्दाणम् । (नाथ! अपरोक्षित-  
फलः खलु अयं यज्ञो मुनीश्वराणाम् ॥)

देवः—प्रिये! यत्र मुनयः, साधयतु तत्र भवती; अहमपि यत्र दीक्षितपत्न्यः । नन्दिन्!  
भवता अत्रैव स्थातव्यम् ॥

(उभौ तथा कुरुतः)

देवः—(परितोऽवलोक्य) सर्वतो मां ससंभ्रमं तापसाः पश्यन्ति यावत्, तावत्पर्णशालापरि-  
सर एव सञ्चरामि ॥ (इति निष्क्रान्तः)

नन्दी—(पुरोऽवलोक्य; सस्मितम्) हन्त! समन्ततःकन्दलितकौतुकमिन्दुशेखरमभिपत-  
न्ति चन्द्रवदना यमीन्द्राणाम् । समसमयसमुदयरुचिरकदम्बडम्बरविडभिनीनां  
तापसनिर्तम्बिनीनामाकर्णयामि कर्णरसायनानि वचनानि । (अवधत्ते)

(नेपथ्ये)

हला !

मुत्तं णेतूस्सवमहह मोत्तूण सुइरं  
कुण्णेहिं पुण्णेहिं णिअदमवतीणं वणतले ।  
इमाणंपेक्खामो परुसणिअमोच्छारणकला—  
सीरालीदुप्पेक्खं हदअजमिणं किण्णुददनम् ॥ २८ ॥

(सखि !

मूर्तं नेत्रोत्सवमहह मुत्त्वा सुचिरं  
कृतैः पुण्यैर्नियतमवतीर्णं वनतले ।  
एषां पश्यामः परुषनिगमोच्चारणकला-  
शिरालीदुष्प्रेक्ष्यं हतकयमिनां किञ्चुवदनम् ॥

नन्दी—नेदमत्याश्चार्यम् ; सकलभुवनसंमोहनस्य भगवतो मुनिकान्तामोहनमिति ।

(नेपथ्ये) आः तपोधनधर्मदाराः! केयमविमृश्यकारिता भवतीनाम्? यतो  
निरस्तसमस्तनियमा जुगुप्सितं कर्माचरथ ॥

नन्दी—(सस्मितम्) साधीयानयं कपटोपन्यासः ॥

(नेपथ्ये) महापुरिस!

णिअमो दाव करिज्जइ जाव फलं णो लहिज्ज एदस्स ।  
तुम सि फलं णो लद्धो किण्णिअमेहिं किमत्थ अण्णेहिम् ॥ २९ ॥

ता एहि ।

जुत्ताजुत्तविआरो साहीणाणं खु मअणचण्डाळो ।

ण सहइ कालविलंबं पसीद णो पाणपालणं कादुम् ॥ ३० ॥

(महापुरुष !

नियमस्तावत्क्रियते यावत्फलं न लभ्यते तस्य ।

त्वमसि फलं नो लब्धश्च किं नियमैः किमत्रान्यैः ॥

तस्मादिदानीम्

युक्तायुक्तविचारः स्वार्थीनानां स्वल्गु मदनचण्डालः ।

न सहते कालविलंबं प्रसीद नः प्राणपालनं कर्तुम् ॥)

नन्दी—(पुरोऽवलोक्य) हन्त! प्रतिकृतमेव देवस्यानङ्गेन; यतः—

पतति पदयोरेकाभीकालिलिङ्गिषतीतरा

सरणिमबला रुन्धे बन्धेन काचन संभ्रमात् ।

चपलमपरा चेलं कूलङ्कषप्रमदा हर—

त्युदितमदनातङ्का तं कापि सस्पृहमीक्षते ॥ ३१ ॥

तत्कथमीदृशमनुरूपमध्यवसायमात्मधर्मपत्नीनां समक्षं ते तितिक्षन्ते निरवधिका-  
हंकारसान्द्रा मुनीन्द्राः । (परिवृत्त्यावलोक्य) आः ! स्वशरीरमेवैते न जानन्ति ; किंपुन-  
र्दारान् । यावदुपसृत्य पश्यामि ।

(इति पदान्तरंगत्वा)

\* त्यक्तमृगाजिनश्रृङ्गाः चीरसुसंमृष्टगात्रनवनीताः ।

मुक्तसमस्तविधाना मुहुरेते मोहिनीं प्रतीहन्ते ॥ ३२ ॥

❀ कृष्णाजिनकृष्णविषाणपरिग्रहो नवनीतलेपनञ्च गात्रेषु दीक्षितानां भवतीति याज्ञि-  
कमिकायप्रसिद्धम् ।

(ततः प्रविशन्ति मुनीन्द्राः)

एकः— (साश्चर्यम्) हन्त ! करकौशलमादिमशिल्पिनः —

तिमिरसुधाकरविभ्रमशंखगिरीन्द्राम्बराम्बुजातानाम् ।  
सामानाधिकरण्यं सांप्रतमध्यक्षितं यतोऽस्माभिः ॥ ३३ ॥

द्वितीयः— मन्यं सकलभुवनसंमोहिनो देवतेयम् । अन्यथा कथङ्कारमीदृशी ।  
रूपरेखा स्यात् ?

अपरः— (सानन्दम्)

कलक्वणितकङ्कणं कलितमेखलाडम्बरम्  
झलञ्झलितनूपुरं चतुरहारलीलायुतम् ॥  
कनत्कनककुण्डलं कथमिमां भुवं मण्डय-  
त्यकुण्ठसुषुमोदयं किमपि मन्मथप्राभवम् ॥ ३४ ॥

मोहिनी—(ललितं परिक्रम्य, मुनीन्द्रानवलोक्य मुखं साचीकरोति)

एकः— मसृणतरङ्गितस्तिमितधूर्णितमुग्धचला-  
चलमधरालसस्तिमतनिमीलितपक्ष्मलितम् ।  
दरचलखञ्जरीटमदभञ्जनचुञ्चु दृशो  
वैलनमिदं तरङ्गयति शर्म कुरङ्गदृशः ॥ ३७ ॥

इतरः— धनकुचकुंभभङ्गुरविलम्बभयप्रचल  
न्मणिमयमेखलाकुलविलोलदुकूलवरम् ।  
मदललितावलोककचिमेचकभूमितलं  
धृतिनिधनं तनोति गमनं तदिदं सुदृशः ॥ ३६ ॥

अन्यः— कञ्जासनस्य करकौशलतन्त्रटीका  
किञ्चाखिलस्य भुवनस्य विमोहविद्या ।

पञ्चायुधीयतपसां परिणामभेदः

सञ्जायते ननु किलाचरमो रसोऽयम् ॥ ३७ ॥

(सर्वे ससंभ्रममुपसर्पन्ति)

**मोहिनी**—(किञ्चिदिवावलोक्ष्य चकितेव कुचकलशदरशिथिलमुत्तरीयं पुनरपि दृढीकरति)

**सर्वे**—देवि! किमित्यात्मनीनमगणयित्वा दासकुलं प्रस्थीयते ?

**मोहिनी**—(किञ्चिदिव विहस्य)

णखु अहं तारिसी (इत्यर्धोक्ते, नयनसंज्ञया वारयति) (नखल्वहं तादृशी)

**सर्वे**—देवि ! नोचितमितोऽन्यत्र गन्तुम् । प्रसीद नमस्यामः ते पादारविन्दयोः । अथवा कोऽधिकारो नः तावकीनपदद्वन्द्वं नमस्कर्तुमपि । (विचिन्त्य) एवं भवतु ।

नमस्तस्मै कस्मैचन मकरकेतोरपि मुहुः

तपःपाकः कोऽसाविति कलयते विस्मयरसम् ।

यदीयं वक्षस्त्वत्कुचकलशलीलायितगलत्—

पटीरक्षोदानामजनि परमेकाधिकरणम् ॥ ३८ ॥

**नन्दी**—अहो! शोभितमाचारेण मुनीन्द्राणाम्

**मोहिनी**—(विलोक्थ; भ्रुकुटिं कृत्वा विहस्यच) तुङ्गाणं असरिसं खु एदं ववसिदम्  
(युष्माकमसदृशं खल्वेतद्व्यवसितम्)

**मुनयः**—किं सदृशासदृशचिन्तया? परिपालनीयाः प्रथममसवः

(सनिश्वासम्) किं पुनरसुलभप्रार्थनया ? तथाहि—

वल्लीवल्गितचक्रमक्रमपरित्रुट्यद्विसं सैकत-

प्रान्तोज्जृम्भितभीतसारसकुलव्याहारकोलाहलम् ।

मुक्तालङ्कृतचन्द्रमम्बुजसमुन्मीलत्कपोतारवं  
तत्किञ्चित्तवखेलनं सुकृतिना केनापि च प्राप्यते ॥ ३९ ॥

तदिदानीमस्मान्

कर्पूरवीटीप्रतिपादने वा संवाहने वा चरणाम्बुजस्य ।  
अक्रीतदासा नवतालवृन्तसंवीजने वा विनियुज्य सर्वान् ॥ ४० ॥

(मोहिनी विस्मस्तनीवी ससंभ्रममाकुला निष्क्रान्ता । मुनयः तामेवानुसरन्तो निष्क्रान्ताः)  
नन्दी—(विहस्य,)

विवृतवदनः कश्चित् पादे पतत्यपरो जटा-  
पटलमितरो वेण्या बध्वा समं परिहृष्यति ।  
शिव ! शिव ! विभो माया सेयं यतो मुनयोऽप्यमी  
दधति मदनातङ्गं शृङ्गारनित्यविरोधिनः ॥ ४१ ॥

(नेपथ्ये) अरे ! रे ! कापालिकापशद ! दूषितशापायुधयौवत ! अयं न भवसि ॥

नन्दी—(विलोक्य) हन्त ! केऽपि जरन्मुनयः चन्द्रशेखरेऽपि मुञ्चन्ति शापमयमायुधम् ।  
निरुद्धविफलशापाः कुर्वन्ति चाभिचारम् । आः कोपि हुतवहमुखादुत्पति-  
तो नखायुधः ॥

(विभाव्य)— अपि तरुतललीनामन्धकारस्य सत्तां  
अमलदशनरोचिःकन्दलैर्निह्नुवानः ।  
बधिरितककुबन्तः क्रुरगलूषघोषैः  
सफल्यति तरक्षुः चाक्षुषं नोऽधिकारम् ॥ ४२ ॥

इदञ्च ;— विवृतमुखघनाशीः खण्डिकाश्रान्तनिर्य-  
द्भ्रलकणकदम्बैर्दुर्दिनीभूतलोकः ।  
कथमयमहिराजः कल्पयन्नल्पभूतान्  
युगविगमसमीरानुद्गतः फूत्क्रियाभिः ॥ ४३ ॥

मोहिनी—(स्त्रीविषमपहायविष्णुरूपेणप्रविश्य ; ) नन्दिन् ! कथमेते कालकण्ठाय  
द्रुहन्ति मुनिपाशाः ?

नन्दी—देव ! क्षणं क्षम्यताम् । पश्यामो देवलीलाम् । पश्य इतोऽपि—  
विकटविघूर्णितनेत्रं विद्युत्संघप्रकाशकेशौघम् ।  
वामनमतिपीनाङ्गं वलति पुरो भूतमतिभीमम् ॥ ४४ ॥

विष्णुः—सर्वैरपि शर्वसन्निधौ त्यक्तगर्भैरेव भाव्यते

नन्दी—(विहस्य)

मुञ्चन्ति वह्निं कोपेन ज्वलिताङ्गाः तपोधनाः ।  
मन्त्रानपि पठन्त्यस्मै महते महतामपि ॥ ४५ ॥

तिष्ठतु तदेतत् । (नभोविलोक्य साश्चर्यम् ) आगतममरमालिकयापि ।

अन्योन्यासङ्गवेगत्रुटितमणिगणापूरवर्षोपलाली-  
चित्रक्षोणीविभागाः त्रिपुरहतिलुठन्मेरुशृङ्गौघशङ्कयाः ।  
प्रायः पारेपराद्धं ध्वजशिखरझणात्कुर्वदुच्चण्डघण्टाः  
श्रूयन्तेऽमी विमानाः स्तुतिमुखरमुखैर्नाकिभिर्नायमानाः ॥ ४६ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—आअरिअ ! को इमो संभमो वेमाणिआणम् । (आचार्य ! कोऽयं संभ्रमो  
वैमानिकानाम् )

व्याघ्रपादः—सकलजनानुजिघृक्षया क्रमेण किमपि चिकीर्षति देवो महादेवः ॥

(नेपथ्ये)

भोभोः पश्यन्तु भवन्तः—

व्याघ्रं संहृत्य शीघ्रं कररुहशिखया चर्मं विभ्रत्तदीयं  
कृत्वार्हिं कङ्कणं चाध्वरहुतवहमप्यादधानः कराब्जे ।



पीठीकृत्यापि भूतं डमरुडिमिडिमिध्वानमाद्यत्प्रपञ्चो  
नृत्यत्याद्यो नटोऽयं सह गिरिसुतया नृपुरीभूतमन्त्रः ॥ ४७ ॥

**व्याघ्रपादः—**(सानन्दम्)

अक्षुद्रानपि घूर्णयन्भ्रमिशतैर्भावानकुण्ठस्मित-  
ज्योत्स्नाभिः पुनरुक्तयंस्ततश्चन्द्रांशुपारम्परीम् ।  
तारैर्दामरभैरवैर्मुखरयन्सर्वा दिशो व्यञ्जय-  
त्यानान्दाद्वयवासनां भगवतीमाद्यो नटस्याग्रणीः ॥ ४८ ॥

(शिरस्यञ्जलिं निधाय) देव ! परमकारुणिक ! तत्रभवतः परमानन्दरूपस्य

पादाम्भोजाभिघातभ्रमितवसुमतीचक्रघूर्णत्सुमेरु-  
व्यत्यस्तस्फाररात्रिन्दिवरचिततटित्पुञ्जकिञ्जल्किताशम् ।  
वेगादन्तर्हितोडुस्थितिचलितजटाहिस्फुटास्फाटनिर्य-  
द्रलज्योतिःकदम्बस्तबकितगगनं नाट्यमव्यादिदं नः ॥ ४९ ॥

**कौण्डिन्यः—**(संस्कृतमाश्रित्य)

वासस्तारक्षवी त्वं भुजगपरिवृढो हारयष्टि विभूतिः  
चालेपो, \*जेमनं तद्गलमपि जरत्पुंगवश्चापवाह्यः ।  
त्यक्तवैतावन्न मेऽन्यत्परमिति परशुं विभ्रतो हस्तकोणे  
नृत्यन्निष्किञ्चनग्रेसर न कलयसि प्रायशः कस्य हासम् ॥ ५० ॥

**व्याघ्रपादः—**मैवं वादीः

वस्तां चर्म दिशोऽथवा भुजगमादत्तां विभूतिञ्च वा  
भुङ्क्तां हालहलं तथापि जगतामीशोऽयमेषां विभुः ।

माहात्म्यं यदमुष्य तादृशमपि त्रैलोक्यपूज्या हरि-  
ब्रह्माद्या भयभक्तिनम्रशिरसः पुष्पान्ति पूर्वे सुराः ॥ ५१ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—(सभयंनमस्करोति)

नन्दी—(पुरोऽवलोक्य)

नृत्तवेगेन देवस्य मोहिताः परमर्षयः ।  
शिव शङ्कर विश्वेश पाहीति प्रणमन्त्यमी ॥ ५२ ॥

विष्णुः—दत्तञ्च नृत्तदर्शनाय देवेन ज्ञानमयं चक्षुर्गतेषाम् ॥  
(नेपथ्ये)

जय जय जगदीश ! वेदान्तसिद्धान्त ! वामाङ्गशुद्धान्त ! कल्पान्तरुद्राकृते !  
विनतभवभयागदङ्कार ! गंगाधरानङ्गभङ्गावह ! अभङ्गुराज्ञानिधे ! पुरहर ! पटुताण्डवो-  
द्दण्डदोर्दण्ड ! खण्डेन्दुचूड ! अखण्डमण्डल्यधीश ! प्रभो ! निरवधिकरुणामय ! त्राहि-  
हालाहलग्रासलीलासमग्राधरोग्रोधुना ॥

इदमपि सकलन्ते रूपमव्याजहृद्यं  
परमशिव वयं नो पारयामो विवेक्तुम् ।  
अपि परिणतबोधैर्दुनिरूपं स्वरूपं  
किमुत गिरिश विद्मो नेति ते निष्कलं तत् ॥ ५३ ॥

(पुनस्तत्रैव) भोः तपोधनाः सन्तुष्टोऽस्मि भवतामनन्यसाधरणया भक्त्या ।  
तदिदानीम् ।

अस्मिन्नेव वने विप्रा मम नृत्ताङ्कणे शुभे ।  
शिवलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य पूजयध्वमतन्त्रिताः ॥ ५४ ॥

पूजया तस्य लिङ्गस्य भोगमोक्षैकहेतुना ।  
अनन्यलब्धं परमं लभध्वं पदमव्ययम् ॥ ५५ ॥

नन्दी—अयं खलु भगवाननुगृह्य तापसान् अस्मदागमनमपेक्षते । तदावामपि अभ्यन्तरी-  
भवावः ॥

विष्णुः—तथा

(इति तावुभावपिनिष्क्रान्तौ) (गर्भाङ्कः समाप्तः)

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! अपि दृष्टमिदं ताण्डवं खण्डपरशोः ।

कौण्डिन्यः—वाआणं अमोअरं णट्टमिदं आदिमस्स नडस्स । (वाचामगोचरः नाट्य-  
मिदं आदिमस्य नटस्य)

व्याघ्रपादः—(सरोमाञ्चम्)

भ्रुकुंसैरभिनीतं नाट्यञ्चेदीदृशं पुरांहन्तुः ।

तत्कीदृशं भविष्यति दारुवने यत्कृतं गिरीशेन ॥ ५६ ॥

तदहं देवस्य ताण्डवावलोकनाय यतिष्ये

(इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

॥ इति द्वितीयोऽङ्कः समाप्तः ॥

## ॥ अथतृतीयोऽङ्कः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति दारुकः, समन्तादवलोक्य)

दारुकः—हन्त ! प्रभातप्राया शर्वरो तथाहि

कोकूयन्ते कुलायस्थितिमविजहतो धीरंधीरंविहङ्गाः ।

शय्योत्थायं मुनीन्द्रा वटुनिकरममी वेदमध्यापयन्ति ॥

द्वित्रैरालेख्यलम्पैरिव गगनतले स्थीयते हन्त तारैः

छायेयं दोर्धदीर्घापि च विरलरुचिर्लक्ष्यते पादपानाम् ॥ १ ॥

अहो प्रत्यूषसमयसविशेषरामणीयकमिदं तिल्ववनम् ॥ तथाहि इदमितःपूर्वम्

उन्नम्रद्रुमरेखिकाघनदलस्तोमान्तरात्कृच्छृतः

च्योतद्भिर्नवरूप्यबिन्दुभिरिव प्रायेण यैः चित्रितम् ॥

तैरद्यास्तगिरीन्द्रचुम्बिनि विधौ निर्बाधमन्तर्गतैः

ज्योत्स्नापूरभरैर्विमृष्टतिमिराहंभावमालोक्यते ॥ २ ॥

(विचिन्त्य) इयता कालेन प्रतिबुद्धेन भवितव्यमायुष्मता देवेन वासुदेवेन ।

(विमृश्य) अथवा किं प्रतिबुद्धेनेति । सुप्तस्य खलु प्रतिबोधः ? । यतो निर्व्याजकरुणाविधायिनः

तस्य मुनेरुपमन्योरुपदेशवचनानि स्मारंस्मारमुद्वेलमुधासमुद्रनिमग्नस्य ममापि निद्रा  
न मुद्रयति लोचने । किंपुनर्भगवतो वासुदेवस्य तादृशीं प्रापितस्य शिवदीक्षाम् ॥ भवतु

यथाकालमुपजीविना सन्निहितेन खलु भाव्यम् ।

(परिक्रम्यावलोक्यच सहर्षम्)

इयं पटकुटी विभोर्गुडचञ्चुकोटीलुठ-

त्फणाधरपताकिकाहरितरत्नकेतूज्वला ।

उदग्रनवमालिकाबहुक्तगन्धमुष्टिन्धया

यतो दधति खेलनं तत इत. समीरार्भकाः ॥ ३ ॥

(नेपथ्ये)

जय जय जगत्पते ! देवकीनन्दन ! कालीयभुजङ्गफणामण्डलताण्डव ! रक्षै-  
कवीक्षित ! कंसहिंसन पञ्चजनकुञ्जरपञ्चानन ! कुवल्यापीडकूटपाटक ! शिशुपालप्रमुख-  
दत्यवनविभञ्जन ! कञ्जाभिरामनयन ! सुप्रभातं भवतः कुहनागोपालस्य ।

संप्रति हि—

चिरतरमनुभूय क्षमातले सुप्रसिद्धं

कुलगुरुरतिपुण्यं शैवदीक्षोत्सवं ते ।

कथयितुमिव मोदान्नागलोकस्य सद्यः

प्रविशति सितधामा पश्चिमाम्भोधिमध्यम् ॥ ४ ॥

किञ्च

अन्तर्धेरिह भूयसा कुमुदिनीनाथस्य पत्युस्तिष्ठा-

मप्युन्मीलनतोऽम्बुजानि कुमुदान्युन्मीलितुं मोलितुम

ईहन्ते तमसां कुलानि शनकैः स्थातुञ्च यातुं पुरः

छाया गन्तुमिमाञ्च हन्त जगतः प्राचीं प्रतीचीमपि ॥ ५ ॥

दारुकः—कथमेते मागधा यथाकालं प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्ते ! (विचिन्त्य) इदानीं किलायुष्मता  
निर्वर्तितकार्यनियमेन भवितव्यम् ॥ क्षणमत्रोपविश्य, विचार्यच प्रविशामि ॥

(पुनर्नेपथ्ये) बैतालिकः—देव ! वासुदेव !

तिमिरपरिषदोष्ठीभङ्गप्रबन्धविधायिभिः  
कमलकलिकासौरभ्यश्रीशिरैकविमेदिभिः ॥  
नवकिसलयैव्योभाटव्या बलाहितदिङ्मुखैः  
करपरिकरैरहामेतैरलङ्कुरुते पतिः ॥ ६ ॥

किञ्च

संहर्तुं ध्वान्तलोकानिव दिवसकरे प्रौढबन्धूकगुच्छ-  
च्छायासच्छात्रबिम्बे प्रथमगिरिशिरः संभ्रमेणाधिरुढे ।  
वलगन्त्येके पुरस्ताद्विशि दिशि किरणाः केपि धावन्ति वेगाद्  
घूर्णन्त्यन्ये नगाग्रे गृहमपि कतिचिज्जालकैराविशन्ति ॥ ७ ॥

**दारुकः**—(विलोक्य सहर्षम्) अयं खलु आयुष्मानखिलानपिविनयभयभक्तिविरचि-  
ताञ्जलीनहमहमिकया ससम्भ्रममितततः समापततो निवर्त्य भृत्यजनानसकृदालोकन-  
संज्ञया ; सह देव्या सत्यभामया पटमडपान्तरादपर इव मार्ताण्डः, पुण्डरीकनयनो निर्जि-  
हीते ॥ मन्ये चिरेण बन्धुजनविरहकातरया देव्यानुनाथितो भगवन्तमुपमन्युमनु-  
ज्ञापयितुं प्रस्थित इति । (सस्मितम्) अपर इव \*लैणो भगवानखिललोकसर्गरक्षाप-  
हारप्रभुरपि वनिताजनवशंवदो लक्ष्यते । तथाहि अनया देव्या पारिजातप्रसवमम्यर्थ-  
यन्त्यानुनीतः सर्वानपि गीर्वाणान्विजित्य, पारिजातमेवानिनाय ॥ अवेदमवेदमहमिति  
अखिलेषु धरातलविषयेषु शिवस्थानेषुवभ्रमीति संभ्रमी । विशेषतश्चैदंपदंपरमधिगत्य  
चिरंणलब्धशिवदीक्षो विसस्मार द्वारवतीमपि । भवतु कोऽहंभगवतोविलासचिन्तायाम् ॥  
यावद्देवीसनाथस्य यदुनाथस्य मनोविनोदाय सिंहवर्मणा भूपालेन प्रेषितं चित्रपटमुपहारी-  
करोमि ॥ (इति निष्क्रान्तः)

(इतिशुद्धविष्कंभः)

(ततः प्रविशति कृष्णदेवः, सत्यभामाच)

\* लैणोऽहोहितः = लैणः रमणीलोल इत्यर्थः ।

**कृष्णदेवः**—देदि ! सत्राजिद्वंशकनकवैजयन्ति ! पावनरमणीये ! अत्र खलु तिल्व-  
कानने समन्ततो निरन्तरविकचविविधतरुकुसुमसरजसविगलदतिबहुलमधुश्रजम्भालसम्बाध-  
परिसरा, नवनवकिसलयकणचर्वणतुन्दपरिमृजपरभृतमधुरविस्तमुखरिता न कस्यवानन्द-  
मुपजनयति वीथिका ? ॥

सरिता तटीः सिकतिलाः सरसीतटभूमिभारमपिशर्करिलम् ।

अवलोकयाब्जवदने विगलन्मकरन्दतुन्डिलताम्रवणम् ॥ ८ ॥

**सत्यभामा**—अय्यउत्त ! णवणवपदाणालिङ्गिततरुणपादवाओ, पञ्जकवि  
असन्तमञ्जरीपुञ्जणिहुदणिलीनमहुवराओ, पवणचलिअपल्लुवङ्गलिपत्तुदविलासाओ ; वणि-  
दाओ विअ दंसणीआओ लदाओ (आर्यपुत्र ! नवनवप्रतानालिङ्गिततरुणपादपाः  
प्रत्यग्रविकचमञ्जरीपुञ्जनिभृतनिलीनमधुकराः पवनचलितपल्लवाङ्गुलिप्रस्तुतविलासाः  
वनिता इव दर्शनीया लताः ।)

**कृष्णदेवः**— विधिविलसितसारं विश्रमश्रीनिषद्यां

मधुरिमसमवायं मारघण्ठापथन्ते ॥

कमलमुखि ! तदेतत्कान्तिनिप्यन्दि गात्रम्

कथय कलयतां नः का दिदृक्षा लतासु ॥ ९ ॥

**सत्यभामा**—(वैलक्षण्यन्नाटयति)

**कृष्णदेवः**— कनकमरुवकाभौ कान्तिपूर्णौ कुचौ ते

तुलयितुमिव यत्नात्तद्विधाः सञ्चरन्तः ॥

कमलमुकुलतप्तं तत्तपः तप्तुमेते

सरसि सरसि सर्वे चक्रवाका वलन्ते ॥ १० ॥

**सत्यभामा**—(कतिचित्पदानि गत्वा) अंहहे ! एदाणं चक्रवाआणं अदिभूमिगदा विला-  
सचाउरी (अहो ! एतेषां चक्रवाकानामतिभूमिगताविलासचाउरी)

कृष्णदेवः—सत्यमुपलक्षितं भवत्या

दशान्ति विसभङ्गमङ्कुरदभङ्गरामं मुहुः  
कृषन्ति हृषितां तनुं वलितकन्धरं चुञ्चुभिः ।  
मदव्यतिकराकुलाकुलतया सकाकूदयं  
रथाङ्गमिथुनान्यमून्यहह कुर्वते कूजितम् ॥ ११ ॥

सत्यभामा—मोरो णिच्चइ तुज्ज किण्णु सविहे ।

कृष्णः—विद्युल्लुतादर्शनात् ।

सत्यभामा—(सस्मितम् ) णोमेहो अवि होटु, घुम्मइ कुलोभिङ्गाण-

कृष्णः—बल्लीयतः ॥

सत्यभामा—णो रुक्खो खु तमालओ अहिमदो कान्ताडवी ।

कृष्णः—ईट्ठं नसा ।

सत्यभामा—(सोल्लासम् ) आरा सुव्वइ हंसआरवकल ।

कृष्णः—सञ्चारि पञ्चयतः ॥

(मयूरो नृत्यति तव किन्तु सविधे विद्युल्लुतादर्शनात्  
नो मेघोऽपि भवतु घूर्णते कुलं भृङ्गाणां बल्ली यतः ।  
नो वृक्षःखलु तमालकोऽभिमतः कान्ताटवीट्ठनसा  
आराच्छ्रूयते हंसकारवकलः सञ्चारि पञ्च यतः ॥ १२ ॥)

सत्यभामा—अण्णं मए उवकिखत्तमण्णं समत्थिअं अय्यवुत्तेण ॥

कृष्णः—(कतिचित्पदानिगत्वा) इतोदीयतामालोकनक्षणः —

सरजसमधुधारासारसंपर्कखञ्जाः

प्रतितरुतलमेते प्रायशः चञ्चरीकाः ।



विदधति विपुलाक्षि ! प्रौढसन्तापलीन-

स्फुटकनकनिमग्नोद्दामशक्राश्मशङ्काम् ॥ १३ ॥

इतः पश्य चौर्यरतैकतानत्वमलिनः ।

आच्छाद्य पक्षतिपुटेन हठेन योषां

स्नेहादिव स्तवकसीमनि चञ्चरीकः ।

आलिङ्ग्य चुम्बति समञ्चितमोदमन्या-

माकूतमुद्रितरवामलिनीमिदानीम् ॥ १४ ॥

सत्यभामा—अय्यवुत्तेण सिक्खिदो अलिपोदो (आर्यपुत्रेण शिक्षितोऽलिपोतः)

कृष्णः —(मन्दस्मितं करोति)

सत्यभामा—(समन्तादवलोक्य)

पेरन्तपुल्लणववल्लिगुलुच्छसेज्जा-

पासुत्तचप्पहपवुत्तमहन्धआरम् ।

कोट्टहलं कुणइ काणणमज्जभाणु

मोहासहं पचुरमम्महबाहुधीरम् ॥ १५ ॥

(पर्यन्तफुल्लुनववल्लिगुलुच्छशय्या-

प्रसुप्तपदप्रवृद्धमहान्धकारम् ।

कौतूहलं करोति काननमद्य भानु-

मयूखासहं प्रचुरमन्मथबाहुधैर्यम् ॥)

(पुनः सहर्षम्) इदंखु मन्दमन्दवलन्तचन्दणसेणिलगन्धवहान्दोलिततरुणसह-  
आरणिपडन्तकुसुमधूलीपालिआघोलन्तमहुअरमहुरझङ्कारमुहरिदं, कीलन्तवसन्तलच्छी-  
चरणमणिसिखलाझणझणासङ्किदकीलासरविहरन्तजलचरविहगकोलाहलपवञ्चिअपञ्चसरविरुद-  
गाहासिलाघं णवणवपल्लवभङ्गचव्वणगव्विअकोइलपञ्चमदिण्णकण्णपारणं कुणेइ मह-  
न्दमानन्दम् ॥

(इदं किलमन्दमन्दवलच्चन्दनशैलगन्धवहान्दोलिततरुणसहकारनिपतत्कुसुमधूलिपालकाघूर्णन्मधुकरमधुरझङ्कारमुग्वरितं क्रीडद्भ्रसन्तलक्ष्मीचरणमणिश्रृङ्खलाझणझणाशङ्कितकीडा-सरोविहरमाणजलचरविहगकुलकोलाहलप्रपञ्चितपञ्चशरबिरुदगाथाश्लाघं, नवनवपल्लवभङ्ग-चर्वणगर्वितकोकिलापञ्चमदत्तकर्णपारणं करोति महान्तमानन्दम् ॥)

कृष्णः — स्थानेखल्वानन्दो भवत्याः ॥

विषमविशिखवीरवन्दितादृक्-  
पिककुलपञ्चममञ्जुलान्तराणि ।  
मधुपमधुसपीतिमन्दिराणि  
प्रमदभरं प्रथयन्ति काननानि ॥ १६ ॥

सत्यभामा — इदो अतिविसमत्थञ्ज्वलन्तसारणीतरलतरङ्गतालवण्डपाटिकाणिआसङ्गसी-  
अलमलङ्करोदु—शिलाअलमग्यवुत्तो ॥ (इतोऽतिविषमस्थलस्खलत्सारणीतरलत-  
रङ्गतालवृन्तपाटितकणिकासङ्गशीतलमलङ्करोतु शिलातलमार्थपुत्रः)

कृष्णः — एवमेवैतत् ॥ ये किल—

चतुरसखीकराम्भुजपरिग्रहपूर्वमिल—  
न्मणिमयकुट्टिमेषु गतिभङ्गमुपस्कुरुतः ।  
शिव शिव ते पदे विपिनसीमनि चारयता  
परमपराद्धमिन्दुमुखि ! संप्रति हन्त मया ॥ १७ ॥

(इति तथा कृत्वा) देवि ! लवलीलतालङ्गितैकभागः शिलातलारूढः कनकलता-  
सनाथैकभागः क्रियतामसौ बालतमालपादपः ॥

सत्यभामा — (सस्मितं शिलातलमारोहति)

कृष्णः —

न मेऽस्ति परिचारिका किमिति खिद्यसे नन्वयं  
निदेशकृतिलालसो निकट एव ते वर्तते ।

अलङ्कुरु विशङ्कमङ्कतलमङ्घ्रिसंवाहनैः

करौ कलयतामिदम्यथमपक्रिमं तत्तपः ॥ १८ ॥

सत्यभामा—किंविडम्बीयदि पादपरिआरिआ ! (किं विडडं व्यते पादपरिचारिका)

कृष्णः—अतिचिरसञ्चारेण परिश्रान्तामुपलक्षयेऽत्रभवतीम् । यतः

उद्वेलश्वसितानिलव्यतिकरैरुत्कम्पमानौकुचा-

वुन्मीलन्ति मुखेन्दुबिम्बमभितः सान्द्राः श्रमाम्भःकणाः ।

ऊर्वोरूढनितम्बयोर्विवृणुते खेदं दुकूलाञ्चलं

मन्ये व्यत्ययकेलिखिन्नमिव तदेव्यङ्गमङ्गं तव ॥ १९ ॥

सत्यभामा—अय्यवुत्त ! एदाणीमुवरि वत्तुमपण्डिआअहम्मि । होदु ; को अण्ण ओहसिज्जइ । ता भण जं तुज्ज रोअइ (इदानीमुपरि वत्तुमपण्डिताहमस्मि । भवतु कोन्योऽपहसिष्यति । तद्गण ; यत्तुभ्यं रोचते)

कृष्णः—(सरोमाञ्चम्) अपि स्मर्यते ! तादात्विकोयमुदन्तो योऽनुभक्तमूर्धो देव्या नवोदया ।

तदा निर्मर्यादस्मरशरकलासारपिशुना-

न्यवेक्ष्य ह्यङ्गानि स्मितकुटिलनेत्रा यदवदन् ।

मिथः सरूयो लज्जापरिणतिनताङ्गयः स्थितिमयि

त्वया तत्प्रत्यक्षं मम चगृह्वातायनजुषः ॥ २० ॥

सत्यभामा—अदोखु ताहिं सहीं अतिमेतं तस्सिं काले पवुत्तो परिहासो । (अतः खलु ताभि सखीभिरतिमात्रं तस्मिन्काले प्रवृत्तः परिहासः । यतः सन्निधानेयूयम्)

कृष्णः—

इयं वन्या वीवी परिचयपरित्रस्नुरधिकं

पुनस्सत्तासत्ताविषयविभवः ते प्रियतमे ।

असौ मध्यो भारं पृथुलतरयोर्हन्त कुचयोः

न चेदुत्सङ्गोऽयं नलिननयने ! वोढुमुचितम् ॥ २१ ॥

(इति बलादुत्सङ्गमारोपयति)

सत्यभामा—(पत्युः कण्ठमालिङ्गति) अउत्त ! दिट्ठाइ गेत्तरसाअणाइ दिव्वत्थ-  
लाइ । परिपूतोविअ अप्पा लद्धमिव जम्मपलम् । ता इदो उक्कण्ठा अइ  
दट्ठुमह्णकेरपुरी ॥ (आर्यपुत्र ! दृष्टानि नेत्ररसायनानि दिव्यस्थलानि परिपूत-  
इवात्मा । लब्धमिवजन्मफलम् । तत इत उत्कण्ठयतेद्रष्टुमस्मत्पुरी ॥

कृष्णः—(सस्मितम्) देवि ! गुरुचरणाननुज्ञास्य झटितिप्रस्थीयते ।

सत्यभामा—(पुरोऽवलोक्य ; समीरातिशयमभिनीय ; सभयम्) अय्यवुत्त ! परित्ता-  
अस्स ! मरित्ताअस्स !! एसो कोऽवि दुट्ठसप्पो एत्त सम्मुहमुच्चलइ (आर्यपुत्र !  
परित्रायस्व ! परित्रायस्व !! एष कोऽपि दुष्टसर्पोऽत्र सम्मुखमुच्चलति । )

कृष्णः—(विलोक्य,) हन्त ! न कोऽपि । परिवेष्टितः पटखण्डः । यं पुनरहिरिति मनुने-  
देवी । प्रिये ! मा भैषीः । अहमेनमादाय दर्शयामि । (इति सवेगमादाय  
उत्प्रेक्ष्यच) अहो । कस्यापि कारुतरस्य शिल्पसर्वस्वशंसी चित्रपटः ।

सत्यभामा—(विलोक्यसाश्चर्यम्) अंहो ! समीरणसमाआदो चित्तपडो (निरूप्य)  
अय्यवुत्त ! अहेहिं परिशीलिआइ थलाइ एत्त लग्गिज्जन्ति । ता केण एसो  
णिम्मितो । (आश्चर्यम् समीरणसमागतः चित्तपटः । आर्यपुत्र आवाभ्यां  
परिशीलितानि स्थलानि अत्र लक्ष्यन्ते तस्मात्कैनैष निर्मितः)

कृष्णः—(विलोक्य) नूनमयमस्मदभिप्रायवेदिना दारुकेण समीराभिमुखं न्यस्तो भवेत् ॥  
न जाने केनायं प्रहित इति । (पटस्य पश्चाद्भागमवलोक्य) अये ! मषीरेखया  
न्यस्तान्यक्षराणि । (वाचयति)

“देवस्य वयस्येन सिंहवर्मणा देवस्य चित्तविनोदाय प्रहितोऽयं”मिति ॥

सत्यभामा—को एसो पुरिसो जो अज्जवुत्तस्स सिणेहभाअणम् ?

कृष्णः—आम् देवि ! स सलु बहोः कालादस्मानुसरति आत्मनः सैहं त्वचमपनेतु कामः । तदिममुदन्तमाचार्यपादाय चित्रपटमुखेन निवेदयामि ।

सत्यभामा—(सौत्सुक्यम्) अय्यवुत्त ! किंआअरिण उवदिट्टम् ? कीरिर्सी सिवदि-  
कत्वा ? । (आर्यपुत्र ! किमाचार्येणोपदिष्टम् ? कीदृशी शिवदीक्षा)

कृष्णः—(विहस्य) देवि ! अननुवेद्यं रहस्यं पृच्छसि । भवतु पश्चात् कथयामि ।  
झटित्युपसर्पावो गुरुचरणसन्निधिम् (कतिचित्पदानि गत्वा कर्णदंत्वा) निकुञ्जा-  
न्तरेषु सञ्चरतां शुकानामालाप इव श्रूयते यावदुपलप्स्ये । (कर्णं ददाति)

(शुकः—आकाशे)

अहो ! प्रशान्तपावनोऽयमाकृतिसन्निवेशः तदनतिक्रमणीयः समुदाचारः ।

अविद्याबीजविध्वंसलभ्यं किमपि सौरभम् ।

प्राप्तोऽहं दर्शनाद्यस्य तन्त्वां वन्दे दयानिधिम् ॥

कृष्णः—(साश्चर्यम्) हन्त ! प्रथमदर्शने गुरुणां यदभिहितमस्माभिः तदेवेदानीं  
जल्पति शुकराजः ।

सत्यभामा—(सविस्मयम्) जह एव्वं पुणो वि सुणुमो । णासेसं कहइस्सति सुओ  
(यद्येवं पुनरापि शृणुवः, निःशेषं कथयिष्यति शुकः)

(अवधत्ते आकाशे)

शुकः (आकाशे) परमपुरुष ! कोऽयं भूमिकानुगुणो विलासो भवतः ? जगदनु-  
ग्रहाय प्रतिपद्यस्व शैवदीक्षाम् ॥

कृष्णः—प्रिये ! तादात्विकोऽयं प्रस्तावः ।

सत्यभामा—सुमरीअदि (स्मर्यते)

शुकः—(आकाशे)

न यावदुपतिष्ठते ननु तपः फलं पार्वती-  
पतेः चरणपङ्कजं प्रथमवाग्भिरध्यापितम् ।  
अशेषभयभञ्जनं किमपरेण तावत्क्षितौ  
जरामरणजन्मनां भवति जन्तुरेकान्तभूः ॥ २३ ॥

किञ्च

त्रिभुनसारमपारं दिनकरचन्द्रामिलोचनत्रितयम् ।  
अजमजरमप्रसाद्य त्रिष्वपि लोकेषु को लभेत सुखम् ॥ २४ ॥

सात्यभामा—(साशङ्कम्) अय्यवुत्त ! कहिअं हि परमसिवस्य महन्तत्तणम् (आर्यपुत्र !  
कथितं हि परमशिवस्य माहात्म्यम्)

कृष्णः—प्रिये ! एतदेव पृष्टमुत्तरितञ्चाचार्यचरणैः

शुकः—(आकाशे)

यत्तन्निष्कलमीशतत्त्वमभवत्तस्मात्सदाख्यं दशै-  
कांशात्तस्य मनोन्मणिर्विजयते वामाङ्गमासेदुषी ।  
एवं तत्त्वमिहैश्वरं समुदितं रुद्रः सहस्रांशतः  
कोट्यंशादपि विष्णुरम्बुजभवोऽप्यस्यान्यदेवैः कृतम् ॥ २५ ॥

सात्यभामा—सुदं सोदव्यम् । अहं किं दुल्लहा सिवदिक्खा ? (श्रुतं श्रोतव्यम् ।  
अथ किं दुर्लभाशिवदीक्षा ?) (शुकः—आकाशे)

अपश्चिमतनोः पशोरखिलपाशनाशावहः  
षडध्वपरिशोधनात्किमपिकर्मसाम्ये सति ।  
अनन्तसुखसन्ततिंव्यतिकरोर्मिलोऽयं गुरोः  
दयामयसुधारसैर्भवति शम्भुदीक्षोत्सवः ॥ २६ ॥

ततश्च—

निरालम्बेऽनाख्ये सकलमलदूरे परिगलद्-  
विभेदे निस्तत्वे सति चिति परानन्दमसृणे ।  
नियुक्तः क्षेत्रज्ञो जलमिव जले सर्पिषि पुनः  
यथा सर्पिह्वेकीभवति धुतपाशव्यतिकरः ॥ २७ ॥

अथचोक्तम्—

“ रसविद्धं यथा ताम्रं हेमत्वं प्रतिपद्यते ।  
तथात्मा ज्ञानसबन्धाच्छिवत्वं प्रतियद्यते ” इति ॥ २८ ॥

कृष्णः—देवि ! ननु नवीकृतोऽयमुपदेशः शुक्रमुखेन ।

सत्यभामा—सिवदिक्त्वा एव एवमुक्तेति वक्तव्यम् (शिवदीक्षैर्बैबमुक्तेति वक्तव्यम्)

कृष्णः—देवि !

वागीशा जननी यस्य व्योमयापी पिता शिवः ।  
मन्त्रैः शिवाध्वरे जातः स मुक्तो नात्र संशयः ॥ २९ ॥

किं बहुना गुरव एवात्रप्रमाणम् ॥

तथोक्तम्—

पूजामूलं गुरोः पादोमन्त्रमूलं गुरोर्वचः ।  
ध्यानमूलंगुरोरूपं ज्ञानमूलंगुरोः कृपा—इति ॥ ३० ॥

(कतिचित्पदानिगत्वा) पुरोऽवलोकयसहर्षम्)

पर्णशालापरिसरं दीपयन्ब्रह्मवर्चसैः ।  
स एष गुरुपादो नः कृतार्थयति लोचने ॥ ३१ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति उपमन्युः—परिक्रामन्)

श्री :

# ख्यातिवादसङ्ग्रहः ।

क. अ. शिवरामकृष्णशास्त्री ॥

अण्णामलैविश्वविद्यालयः ॥

कारणं सकलाभीष्टसिद्धीनां विघ्नवारणम् ।

तारणं भवपाथोधेर्वारणास्यमुपास्महे ॥

इह खलु दर्शनानि नास्तिकास्तिकभेदभिन्नानि द्वादश प्रसिद्धानि चार्वाक-सौत्रान्तिक-वैभाषिक-योगाचार-माध्यमिकार्हतानि षडाद्यानि, नैयायिक-वैशेषिक-साङ्ख्य-योग-मीमांसकौपनिषदानि षडपराणि इति । एषां कानिचित् यथायोगमेवेवान्तर्भाव्य षडेव दर्शनानीत्यपि केचित्—यथा हरिभद्रः षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयकर्ता; एतेषामेवान्तरभेद-सङ्कलनया द्वादशभ्योऽधिकान्यपीत्यपरे—यथा माधवाचार्यः सर्वदर्शनसङ्ग्रहीता । आस्तान्नामैवं दर्शनसङ्ख्यायां विमतिः, विभागस्य विभक्तिच्छाधीनत्वात् । तत्स्वरूपेषु तु न केऽपि विवदन्ते ।

तथा समेषामेषां इष्टानिष्टप्राप्तिपरिहारोपायप्रदर्शनार्थत्वं सर्ववाद्यभिमतम् । तत्र कीदृगनिष्टनिवर्तनीयं ? किं पुनरिष्टमवाप्तव्यमित्यस्मिन्विषये ‘त्रिवर्गोऽपवर्गो वा द्वितीयोऽपि कीदृशः’ इति विवादे सत्यपि निवर्तनीयं दुःखं अवाप्तव्यं सुखं दुःखाभावो वा इत्यत्र सम्मतिस्सर्वदर्शनकाराणाम् ॥

निवर्तनीयस्य च दुःखस्य हेतुपर्यालोचनायां “अविद्या” इति सर्वतन्त्र-हृदयम् । उक्तं ह्यभियुक्तैः—“दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिथ्याज्ञानानां उत्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्गः” इति । तथा “हेयहेतुरविद्या” इत्यादि च । सा चानात्मा-दिषु आत्माद्यभिमानरूपा भ्रान्तिमोहाध्यासविपर्ययादिव्यपदेशभाक् सर्वानर्थबीजं सर्वप्राणिनां निसर्गसिद्धा ; यन्निवृत्त्या सर्वाणि दर्शनान्यर्थवन्ति । उक्तञ्च भगवत्पादैः—“तमेतमविद्याख्यं आत्मानात्मनोरितरेतराध्यासं पुरस्कृत्य सर्वे प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारा लोकिका वैदिकाश्च प्रवृत्तास्सर्वाणि च शास्त्राणि विधिप्रतिषेधमोक्षपराणि” इति । तस्मात् सिद्धमेतद्भ्रमः सर्वदर्शनकाराणां सम्मतः इति ; तदधीनत्वाच्छास्त्रार्थवत्तायाः । एवं सामान्यतस्तत्सिद्धावपि तदधिष्ठानारोप्यतदीयसंसर्गशेषु सन्ति मतभेदाः । त इदानीं सङ्गृह्यन्ते । तत्रायं श्लोकः सम्प्रदायविदां—



“ आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।

तथाऽनिर्वचनख्यातिरित्येतत्ख्यातिपञ्चकम् ” ॥

इति । तत्रात्मख्यातिवादिनः बौद्धेषु सौत्रान्तिकवैभाषिक-योगाचाराः । तदुक्तं न्याय-  
रत्नावल्यां—“ तैयोर्मते भ्रमस्थले शुक्त्यादौ रजताद्यभावेऽपि विज्ञानरूपमेव रजतादिकं  
भासते । तत्रैव चेदन्वादेऽसंसर्गाध्यासः ” इति । भौमत्यामपि—“ सौत्रान्तिकनये तावत्  
बाह्यमस्ति वस्तुसत् । तत्र ज्ञानाकारस्यारोपः । विज्ञानवादिनामपि यद्यपि न बाह्यमस्ति  
वस्तुसत् तथापि अनाद्यविद्यावासनारोपितमलीकं बाह्यम् । तत्र ज्ञानाकारस्यारोप ” इति ।  
अत्र कल्पतरौ “ मतभेदेन बौद्धानां भ्रमाधिष्ठानमाहे ” त्येतद्याचक्षाणाः अप्यदीक्षिताः—  
“ मतभेदेनेति ” बाह्यास्तित्ववादिनोः सौत्रान्तिकवैभाषिकयोः सत् शुक्तिशकलादिक-  
मधिष्ठानम् । तत्रास्तित्ववादिनो योगाचारस्य तु अविद्याकल्पितं तदधिष्ठानमित्येवं  
मतभेदेनाधिष्ठानमाहेत्यर्थः ” इति ।

एतावता व्यक्तमेतत् त्रयाणाममीषां अधिष्ठानांशे विशेषसद्भावेऽपि आरोप्यं  
ज्ञानाकार एवेत्यात्मख्यातिरेवैतेषामिति । एवं सति यन्नागेशभट्टैर्लघुमञ्जूषायां  
“ यद्यप्यन्यथाख्यातिरसौत्रान्तिकस्ये ” त्यभ्यधायि, यच्च प्रमेयकमलमार्ताण्डटिप्पण्यां  
“ सौत्रान्तिकस्यासत्ख्यातिः वैभाषिकस्यान्यथाख्याति ” रित्यभिहितं—तदुभयं ज्ञाना-  
कारस्य रजतस्य, अन्यथा—बाह्यशुक्त्यादिविशेषणतया, असतः—बहिरविद्यमानस्यास-  
त्यस्य वा, रजतस्य च ख्यातिरित्येवं योगशक्त्या कथञ्चित् नेयम् । इतरथा परस्पर-  
विरुद्धास्तिस्रः ख्यातयः कथमेकस्मिन्मतेऽङ्गीक्रियेरन् द्वे वा ख्याती ? ग्रन्थान्तरविरोधश्च  
कथं परिह्रियते । सूचितश्चैतत्समनन्तरमेव “ बौद्धे शुक्त्यादौ ज्ञानधर्मरजतादेरध्यासः  
इति तेनाङ्गीकारात् ” इति वदद्भिः नागेशभट्टैरेव । ननु यदेवं योगशक्त्यङ्गीकारेण  
अन्यथाख्यातिः समर्थ्यते सौत्रान्तिकनये, तर्हि इतरत्रापि मतेषु तथोक्तिसम्भवा-

1. यद्यपि अस्य पद्यस्योत्तरार्धं मण्डनमिश्रकृत “ विभ्रम चिवेके ” एव सुपलभ्यते “ परीक्ष-  
काणां विभ्रान्तौ विवादास्सा विविच्यते ” इति ; तथापि सम्प्रदायपाठानुसारेणोत्तरार्धः उपरि  
निर्दिष्टः ।

2. Page 57 Sri Vidya edition.

3. Page 26 Anantakrishna Sastri edition, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay.

4. Ibid.....

5. Page 267, Choukhamba edition.

6. Page 13, Nirnaya Sagar edition.

7. Manjusha Page 267, Choukhamba edition.

द्विशिष्योक्तिर्न सङ्गच्छते । तथैवोक्तं सिद्धान्तसिद्धाजने—“सैत्ख्यातेरन्यत्रान्यथा-  
भानस्यावर्जनीयत्वात्, अथवा ख्यातेरन्यथात्वमारोप्यविषयासंसर्गाविषयकत्वमस्तु अख्या-  
तेरप्यन्यथाख्यातावैक्यं विशेष इति ” इति । तथा च द्वे एव ख्याती स्यातां नेतराः ।  
अपि च मञ्जूषायां या ख्यातिस्सौत्रान्तिकस्य सैव तार्किकैरप्यङ्गीकृता इत्यभिहितम् ।  
तथा प्रमेयकमलमार्ताण्डटिप्पण्यां सौत्रान्तिकमाध्यमिकावुभावसत्ख्यातिवादिनावुक्तौ ।  
न चैतद्द्वयं सम्भवति, माध्यमिकः सर्वशून्यवादी, सौत्रान्तिकस्तु बाह्याभ्यन्तरार्थसद्भाववादीति  
कथमनयोर्मते एका ख्यातिस्सम्भवदुक्तिका । तथा सौत्रान्तिकतार्किकयोः नैकख्याति  
सम्भवः । तस्मादयुक्ता विरुद्धा चेयमुक्तिरुभयत्रापि इति चेत् । अस्त्वेवं ; ‘न कश्चिन्ना-  
पराध्यती’ति न्यायात् ।

असत्ख्यातिर्द्विधा । सदुपरक्ता तदन्या चेति । तत्राद्या पूर्णप्रज्ञानुसारिणां, इतरा  
माध्यमिकानां येषां शून्यवादिनः इत्यपरं नाम ।

अख्यातिः प्राभाकराणां, साङ्ख्ययोगिनोश्च । तथा च ब्रह्मानन्दसरस्वत्यः  
न्यायरत्नावल्यां साङ्ख्यपातञ्जलमतविवेचनावसरे—“सर्वत्रैव हि भ्रमस्थले विषययोरसं-  
सर्गाग्रहात् संसर्गव्यवहारः । धर्मधर्मिज्ञानयोश्च भेदाग्रहात् ज्ञानैकत्वव्यवहारः । न तु  
विशिष्टं ज्ञानं अन्यथाख्यात्यनभ्युपगमात् । एवञ्चासंसर्गाग्रहेण न कस्यापि बाध इति  
लाघवम् । अत एव भ्रमस्थले प्राभाकरोप्येवमाहे”त्यवोचन् । “विचारसागरनामके  
भाषाग्रन्थेप्येवमेवोक्तम् । यत्तु नागेशभट्टैः सदसत्ख्यातिस्साङ्ख्यानामित्यभ्यधायि मञ्जूषा-  
याम् । प्रमाणीकृतञ्च “सदसत्ख्यातिर्वाधावाधाभ्यां” इति सूत्रम् । यच्च प्रमेयकमलमार्ताण्ड-  
टिप्पण्यामुक्तं प्रसिद्धार्थख्यातिरिति । तन्न्यायरत्नावलीभामत्यादिग्रन्थविरोधादुपेक्षणीयम् ।  
अख्यातौ समानायामपि अस्ति विशेषः साङ्ख्ययोगमतयोरितरस्मात् । प्राभाकरा हि विशिष्ट-  
ज्ञानमात्रं नाभ्युपगच्छन्ति भ्रमस्थले । साङ्ख्ययोगिनौ तु चाक्षुषादि विशिष्टं ज्ञानमनभि-  
प्रयन्तावपि मानसन्तत्स्वीकुर्वन्ति । तथा च विवरणं—“अख्यातिवादिनामपि मानसं

1. Page 8 Trivandram Sanskrit Series Vol. IV.
2. Manjusha Ibid.
3. Page 13 Nirnaya Sagar edition.
4. Page 57, Sri Vidya edition.
5. Siva Rao's translation, Page 102, Rippon Press, Madras.
6. Page 267, Choukhamba edition.
7. Page 13, N. S. edition.
8. Page 36, Lazarus & Co.

संसर्गज्ञानं संसर्गाभिमानो वा वक्तव्य इत्यभिप्राय ” इति । अत्र तत्त्वेदीपनं—  
मानसं ज्ञानं साङ्ख्यानां संसर्गाभिमानः प्राभाकराणामिति अभिप्रायकम् । युक्तञ्चैतत् ;  
अन्यथा हि “ विपर्ययो मिथ्याज्ञानमतद्रूपप्रतिष्ठं ” इति सूत्रं असङ्गतं स्यात् । मानसस्य  
तस्य स्वीकारे तूपपद्यतेतराम् ।

अन्यथाख्यातिवादिनो वैशेषिकनैयायिकभाट्टजैनाः । तत्राद्ययोरन्यथाख्यातिरि-  
त्यत्र—“ अन्यथाख्यातिरिति वृद्धाः ” इति वाचस्पतिमिश्रवचनं, भाट्टानां तत्त्वे  
“ तैस्माद्यदन्यथासन्तमन्यथा प्रतिपद्यते । तन्निरालम्बनं ज्ञानमभावालम्बनश्च तत् ” इति  
भट्टवार्तिकं, जैनानां तथात्वे प्रमेयकमलमार्ताण्डश्च प्रमाणानि । यत्तु अद्वैतचिन्तामणौ  
रङ्गोजिभट्टैरुक्तं “ नापि पारमार्थिकस्यैव रजतस्योत्पत्तिरिति दिगम्बरमतं साधु ” इति ।  
तस्येत्यमविरोधस्यादपि । द्विविधा हि जैनाः श्वेताम्बरा दिगम्बराश्च । तत्र दिगम्बराणां  
रङ्गोजिभट्टोक्ता पारमार्थिकख्यातिः । श्वेताम्बराणान्तु प्रमेयकमलमार्ताण्डोक्तान्यथाख्याति-  
रिति । बहुज्ञास्तु निश्चये प्रमाणम् ।

तत्र भट्टपक्षे भ्रमस्थले सत्यस्संसर्गो भासते तार्किकनये तु असन्निति तयो-  
विशेषः । यथोक्तं खण्डनकृता—“ विशिष्टरूपे सम्बन्धांशे चान्यथाख्यातिवादिभिरस-  
त्ख्यातेरभ्युपगमा ” इति । आनन्दपूर्णेन चेत्यं व्याख्यातं “ ईदंरजतयोस्तादात्म्यं  
भ्रमविषय इति भट्टपक्षे विशिष्टांशे, रजतत्वेदमंशयोः समवायो भ्रान्त इति तार्किकमते  
संसर्गांश इत्यर्थ ” इति । अद्वैतसिद्धावपि “ तार्किकैरप्यसतः संसर्गस्य भानाङ्गीकारेण  
तेषामप्येवमापद्येतेति वाच्यं ” इति । वृत्तिप्रभाकरनामके भाषाग्रन्थे “ न्यायवाचस्पतिमते  
भ्रमेऽसतस्संसर्गस्य भानम् ” इत्यभिहितम् । केषाञ्चित्तु तार्किकाणां संसर्गोऽपि सन्नेव  
भासते इति मतान्तरमपि समर्थितं अद्वैतसिद्धावेव ।

1. Page 148, “ बाधुषायथार्थज्ञानाभावेऽपि मानसमयथार्थज्ञानमख्यातिवादिनाऽङ्गी-  
क्रियते । देहादावनात्मन्यात्मबुद्धिरविद्येति सांख्योक्तेरित्यर्थः ” इति । “ प्रा-  
भाकरेणापि संसृष्टव्यवहारानुपपत्त्या संसर्गज्ञानमङ्गीकरणीयमित्याह ” इति च ।
2. Sloka vartika Page 245 stanza 117, Choukhamba edition.
3. Page 47, Saraswati Bhavana texts.
4. खण्डन खण्ड ख्याद्य 1331, Choukhamba Sanskrit Series.
5. Ibid Page 1932, Same edition.
6. Page 645, Anantakrishna Sastri edition, N. S. Press.
7. P. P. 365-6, Kuppusami Raja's translation, Rippon Press, Madras.
8. Page 645, Anantakrishna Sastri edition.

अनिर्वचनीयख्यातिवादिनस्तु अद्वैतिनः शाङ्करीयाः । तथा च भार्गव्यां  
“ तस्मान्न सत् , नासत् , नापि सदसत् । किन्त्वनिर्वाच्यं मरीचिषु तोयमास्थेयं ” इति ।

एतच्छ्लोकानुक्ता षष्ठी काचित्सत्ख्यातिर्नाम विशिष्टाद्वैतिनाम् । अस्याश्च  
नात्यन्तमख्यातिमताद्भेदः । उभाभ्यामपि भ्रमानङ्गीकारात् । विशेषस्तु प्राभाकराणां  
भ्रमस्थले रजतस्य स्मरणं । एतेषां शुक्तावेव विद्यमानस्य सत्यस्य तस्यानुभव इति ।  
यथाभिहितं सिद्धान्तसिद्धौज्जने—“ अख्यातिमतादत्र मन्त्रार्थवादादिप्रामाण्योपगमात्  
औपनिषदं त्रिवृत्करणं प्रतिनिधिन्यायस्योपजीव्य निर्वाहः, न तु भेदाग्रहमात्रमेवेति  
विशेषः, ” इति ॥

भट्टभास्करमतेऽप्येतादृशी ख्यातिरिति लघुचन्द्रिकाया अवगम्यते । उक्तं हि  
तत्रैवं—“ भट्टभास्करमते शुक्तिरूप्यादेः सत्यस्य शुक्त्यादावुत्पत्तिस्वीकारा ” इति ॥

प्राभाकरसम्प्रदायख्यातेरन्या काचिदख्यातिः प्रमेयैकमलमार्ताण्डे व्यवहृता ।  
विवेचिता च सा इत्थं “ तथाहि—जलावभासिनि ज्ञाने तावन्न जलसत्ताऽऽलम्बनी  
भूताऽस्ति । अभ्रान्तत्वप्रसङ्गात् । जलाभावस्त्वत्र न प्रतिभात्येव तद्विधिपरत्वेनास्य  
प्रवृत्तेः, अत एव मरीचयोऽपि नालम्बनं, तत्त्वे वा तद्ग्रहणस्याभ्रान्तत्वप्रसङ्गः ।  
तोयाकारेण मरीचिग्रहणमित्यप्युक्तं तदन्यत्वात् । न खलु घटाकारेण तदन्यस्य  
पटादेर्ग्रहणं ततो निरालम्बनं जलादिविपर्ययज्ञानम् ” इति । नेयमसत्ख्यातिः, तस्याः  
पृथगुक्तेः । नापि प्राभाकरीयाऽख्यातिः, प्रक्रियाभेदात्, तस्या अपि स्मृतिप्रमोषनाम्ना  
पृथगुक्तेश्च । अतः विलक्षणेयमख्यातिः कस्येति न निर्दिष्टा ग्रन्थे ॥ तदीयटिप्प-  
ण्यान्तु एतद्वादी चार्वाकः इति लिखितमस्ति । अतो यावद्वाधदर्शनं चार्वाकाणामि-  
यमख्यातिरिति तद्वलाद्वक्तुं शक्यते ।

तदित्यं तत्तन्मतसम्प्रदायः ख्यातयो निर्दिष्टाः । अथ तत्तद्वादिनामाश्रयविशेषं  
तत्स्वरूपञ्च सङ्ग्रहेण प्रदर्श्यते ।

तत्र सौत्रान्तिकादिबौद्धमतत्रये ज्ञानं साकारं आद्ये साकारस्य विज्ञानस्य  
बाह्योऽर्थो ग्राह्यः परन्तु सोऽनुमेयः । वैभाषिकमते तु योग्यतानुसारेण प्रत्यक्षोऽनुमेयश्च

1. Page 23, Anantakrishna Sastri edition.

2. Page 11, Trivandram Sanskrit Series, Vol. IV.

3. Page 33, A. K. Sastri edition.

4. Page 13, N. S. Press Bombay.

बाह्यः, नत्वनुमेय एव । योगाचारस्य तु मते विज्ञानाकार एव ब्राह्मः सर्वज्ञानानां, बाह्यार्थमात्रस्यासत्वादिति विशेषः परस्परमेषां । तत्र इत्थं विज्ञानसाकारतामुपपादयन्ति सौत्रान्तिकाः—यस्य निराकारं विज्ञानं बाह्यविषयकं स पर्यनुयोक्तव्यः बाह्योऽर्थो विषयीभवन्निराकारस्य किं सत्तामात्रेण भवेत् ? अथ कारणत्वेन ? उत ज्ञानाहितफलाधारत्वेन ? न तावत्सत्तामात्रेण विषयत्वं, बाह्यस्य सर्वस्य सत्त्वाविशेषात् सर्वं सर्वस्य विषयभावमुपेयात् इति सर्वसर्वज्ञताप्रसङ्गात् । असतोऽपि विज्ञानविषयत्वेन सत्ताया विषयतानियामकत्वाभावाच्च । नापि कारणत्वेन, चक्षुरादीनामपि ज्ञानकारणत्वेन विषयतापातात् । असतोऽकारणत्वेन तत्त्वानापत्तेश्च । किञ्च भावमात्रस्य क्षणिकतया कारणस्यार्थस्य कार्यविज्ञानकालेऽविद्यमानतया वर्तमानावभासि विज्ञानं न स्यात् । क्षणिकैत्वञ्चार्थानामन्यत्र साधितम् ॥ नन्वस्तु विज्ञानाहितफलाधारोऽर्थो विषय इति चेत् । तत्र वक्तव्यं—किं पुनर्विज्ञानेनार्थे जन्यत इति । प्राकट्यमिति चेत्—न ; तस्य शुक्लादिवदर्थधर्मस्य सर्वपुरुषसाधारण्यप्रसङ्गात् । न च ज्ञानाहितमर्थधर्मः प्राकट्यं ज्ञानवन्तं प्रत्यसाधारणमेव । यथा द्वित्वादिकमर्थधर्मो यदीयापेक्षाबुद्धिजनितं तं प्रत्यसाधारणमिति वाच्यम् । यतः समुन्मीलितलोचना अपि द्रष्टारः नार्थमिव बाह्यं तद्वर्म्मं प्राकट्यं नाम समीक्षन्ते । अपि चाव्यापकमिदं, सन्ति ह्यतीतानागतविषयाणि विज्ञानान्यनुमानादिजनितानि । न चैतान्यर्थे फलमादधीरन्, अर्थानां तदानीमसत्त्वात् । न हि सम्भवति असन् धर्मी धर्मस्तु तस्य प्रत्युत्पन्न इति । अथ स्वकारणात्तादृशशक्तिमदेव विज्ञानमुत्पद्यते, यथा कश्चिदेवास्य विषयो भवति न सर्व इति चेत्—किमस्याशक्यं, अर्थ इति चेत् । न तावदयं निर्वर्त्यः, वैपरीत्यात् ; अर्थेन हि ज्ञानमुत्पाद्यते न ज्ञानादर्थः तथात्वे वा सर्वस्य सत्यसङ्कल्पतापातात् । न च विज्ञानेन किञ्चिदाधीयतेऽर्थे, येन विकार्यादिः स्यात् । नाप्यन्यः कश्चित्सम्बन्धः विषयतानियामकः अस्ति, तस्यानिरूपणात् । तथाहि—न तावत्संयोगः ज्ञानार्थयोस्सम्बन्धः अद्रव्यत्वात् ज्ञानस्य । नापि समवायः, अनभ्युपगमात् । तस्मान्निराकारं विज्ञानं न बाह्यं गोचरयितुमीष्टे इति साकारमेव विज्ञानमेषितव्यम् । तथाच नीलाद्याकारं विज्ञानं नीलादिकं गोचरयेत् सारूप्यात् । स चाकारः विज्ञानस्य कादाचित्क एव ; सदातनत्वे सुषुप्तावपि विषयमानप्रसङ्गात् ; स च निर्हेतुकत्वेऽनुपपन्नः इति बाह्यार्थ एव तद्धेतुरिति तत्सिद्धिः । परन्तु विज्ञानकाले तस्यासत्त्वान्न स विज्ञानस्य विषयः । किन्तु तत्समर्पिताकारा एव वर्तमाना विज्ञायन्ते । इत्थञ्च वर्तमानावभासत्वमुपपद्यते । बाह्यार्थस्य तु ब्राह्मत्वव्यवहारः तत्र स्वाकारसमर्पणादेव । तथाचोक्तं—

“ भिन्नकालं कथं ग्राह्यमिति चेद्ग्राह्यतां विदुः ।

हेतुत्वमेव तद्युक्तं ज्ञानाकारार्पणक्षमम् ॥

इति ॥ न चैवं विज्ञानानां प्रवर्तकत्वानुपपत्तिः, प्रवृत्तिविषयोपदर्शकत्वं हि प्रवर्तकत्वं । न हि बाह्यविषयोपदर्शकत्वमस्य, बाह्यस्य तदानीमविद्यमानत्वात् । न ह्यन्तरः पुरुषप्रवृत्ति-विषयः इति वाच्यम् । द्विविधो हि विषयो विज्ञानस्य—ग्राह्यः अध्यवसेयश्च । तत्र ग्राह्यः बाह्यक्षण एकः, अध्यवसेयस्तु सन्तानः, तथा च क्षणस्यातीतत्वेपि सन्तानः प्रवृत्ति-विषयः स्यात् । अतो नोक्तदोषः । तथा च यत्र सन्तानो बाह्योऽर्थक्रियाक्षमः विद्यते तत्र संवादात्प्रामाण्यम् । यत्र तु शुक्तिरूप्यादिभ्रमस्थले बाह्यसन्तानोऽर्थक्रियाकारी न विद्यते तत्र ज्ञानाकार एव ग्राह्यः न तु बाह्यं आपणस्थं रूप्यादि, विप्रकर्षात् । उक्तरीत्या ज्ञानस्य तदाकारतां विना तद्ग्रहणायोगाच्च । ततश्चावश्यकल्प्यत्वात् विज्ञाना-कारस्यैव रजतस्य शुक्त्यादौ भानं इति ॥ वैभाषिकास्तु उक्तरीत्या ज्ञानस्य साकारत्वं सिद्धयतु तावत्; बाह्यस्य पुनरर्थस्य कुतो न प्रत्यक्षत्वं? अविद्यमानत्वादिति चेत् कथन्तर्ह्यसता स्वाकारः समर्प्यते विज्ञाने? । न हि दर्पणसन्निधौ असन्देवदत्तः स्वाकारन्तत्रादधानो दृष्टः । अर्थनिरपेक्षस्य विज्ञानस्य साकारस्य चेदुत्पत्तिं ब्रूयाः, माध्यमिकत्वं प्रकटयेत्तदा । तस्मादर्थनिमित्तं साकारत्वं विज्ञानस्याभ्युपगच्छताऽवश्यमर्थो विज्ञानकालेऽङ्गीकार्यः इति कथमविद्यमानत्वन्तस्य, येन सोऽप्रत्यक्षस्स्यात् । तस्माद्यथाहं केचित्प्रत्यक्षाः केचिदनुमेया इत्यातिष्ठन्ते । भ्रमस्थले तूक्तरीतिरेषामपि ॥

तदेतद्बाह्यार्थसत्त्वमसहमानो विज्ञानवादी इत्थं समुज्जृम्भते—न बाह्यमस्ति वस्तुसत् । विज्ञानमात्रात्साकारात् सर्वव्यवहारोपपत्तेः । तथाहि—नीलाकारमेकं प्रतिभासते स चाकारः ज्ञानस्यैव वा स्यादर्थस्य वा बाह्यस्य, नोभयोः; तदाहि नीले इति स्यात् । उभयोराकारयोर्भानात् । नतु नीलमिति ; तस्मादाकारः अन्यतरस्य धर्मो भवत् किं ज्ञानस्य स्यात् उतार्थस्य बाह्यस्येति विमर्शे आद्य एव पक्षस्साधीयान् । अर्थो हि साकारः कल्प्यमानः जडतया न प्रकाशेतेति तत्प्रकाशनाय विज्ञानमपि साकारमवश्यं कल्पनीयं; तथा च गौरवम् । ततो विभ्यद्यदि बाह्यमर्थं साकारं स्वप्रकाशं ब्रूयास्तर्हि सिद्धन्तस्समी-हितं एक एव ग्राह्यग्राहकोभयात्मकः सन्, अन्यत्सर्वमसत् इत्यस्मत्पक्षसिद्धेः । नाम-मात्रेण अर्थे विशेषाभावात् । अथ विज्ञानस्य चिन्मात्रस्य विना बाह्यैरर्थैः कादाचित्को

नीलमिति ग्राह्याकारावभासः कदाचिदहमिति ग्राहकाकारावभासश्चानुपपद्यमानः अर्थान्वा-  
ह्यान्कल्पयेदिति मन्यसे तदपि मनोरथमात्रं, यतोऽनादौ संसारे विचित्राभिः ग्राह्यग्राहका-  
कारबुद्धिजन्याभिर्वासनाभिः जायमानमेव विज्ञानं ग्राह्यग्राहकाकारशबलं जायत इति तत  
एव वैचित्र्योपपत्तौ बाह्यार्था नापेक्ष्यन्ते । यथाहुः—

“ अविभागोऽपि बुद्ध्यात्मा विपर्यासितदर्शनैः ।

ग्राह्यग्राहकसंवित्तिभेदवानिव लक्ष्यते ॥ ” इति ।

ननु बाह्यार्थकल्पनागौरवभयाद्वासनाशरणीकुर्वतोऽपि विज्ञानव्यतिरिक्तवासनाभ्यु-  
पगमेन घट्टकुटीप्रभातन्यायेन गौरवपिशाचिकावेशः दुष्परिहर एवेति चेन्न । बाह्यार्थवा-  
दिनामपि साधारण्यात् । अवश्यं हि वासनाः भवद्भिरप्यङ्गीकार्याः विज्ञानशक्तिरूपाः ।  
ताभिर्विना व्यवहारस्य दुरुपपादत्वात् । तथा चार्थवासनोभयकल्पनापेक्षया वासनामात्रस्य  
शक्तिरूपस्य कल्पनं लघीयः । धर्मिकल्पनातो वरं धर्मकल्पनेति न्यायात् । अभ्युपगम्य  
चेदमुक्तं वासनानां व्यतिरेकं विज्ञानेभ्यः । वस्तुतस्तु विज्ञानव्यतिरिक्तवस्तुमात्रासत्त्वादिनो  
मम मते न वासना नाम सन्ति भिन्नाः, विज्ञानान्येव तु पूर्वपूर्वाणि वासनाः इति न  
कोऽपि दोषः । अपि च विज्ञानं बाह्यमर्थं कथं गृह्णीयादिति वक्तव्यं, सत्तामात्रेण वा  
हेतुत्वेन वा ज्ञानाहितफलाधारत्वेन वा न तद्ग्रहणसम्भव इत्युक्तम् । सारूप्यात्तद्ग्रह इति  
चेत्—किं सर्वात्मना सारूप्यमपेक्षितं, उत यथाकथञ्चित् । नान्यः, प्रमेयत्वादिना सर्व-  
सारूप्यात् सर्वविषयकत्वापत्तेः । नापि प्रथमः, विज्ञानस्यापि जडत्वापत्तेः, सर्वथा सारूप्यं  
हि अर्थेन विज्ञानस्य जडत्वेन विना न सम्भवति । तदुक्तं—

“ एकदेशेन सारूप्ये सर्वः स्यात्सर्ववेदकः ।

सर्वात्मना तु सारूप्ये ज्ञानमज्ञानतां व्रजेत् ॥

इति । न च तत्सारूप्यतदुत्पत्तिभ्यां ग्रहणं तदाहि न सर्वविषयकत्वप्रसङ्गः इति वाच्यम् ।  
धारावाहिकज्ञानेषु पूर्वं प्रत्युत्तरस्य विषयत्वापत्तेः । उत्तरज्ञानस्य पूर्वज्ञानसारूप्यात्  
तदुत्पत्तेश्च । अपि च अर्थनिमित्तं साकारत्वं विज्ञानस्य कथमिति वक्तव्यम् । नवार्थाकार एव  
विज्ञानस्य स्यात्, अन्यस्यान्यधर्मतानुपपत्तेः, प्रमाणाभावाच्च । नाप्यर्थः स्वीयं  
प्रतिबिम्बं ज्ञानेऽर्पयतीत्ययं पक्षः साधुः । भिन्नदेशयोरसन्निकृष्टयोस्तदसम्भवात् ।

न च विषयत्वं सम्बन्धः विषयत्वेनाकारसिद्धिः तत्सिद्ध्या चार्थस्य विषयत्वम् इत्यन्योन्या-  
श्रयात् । अपिच दिवा चन्द्ररहितं जलमुपलभमानः रात्रौ च खे चन्द्रं पश्यन् जले चन्द्रं  
दृष्ट्वा प्रतिबिम्ब इति निश्चिनोति । नह्येवमर्थरहितं विज्ञानं तदसबद्धश्चार्थोऽनुभूयते,  
येनार्थप्रतिबिम्बं ज्ञाने स्यात् । ज्ञानमेव तूत्पद्यमानं साकारमनुभूयते इति कोऽर्थोऽर्थेनास्य ।  
नचोत्पद्यमानं ज्ञानं न स्वयमनुभूयते किन्तुत्यन्त्रमर्थाहिताकारविशिष्टं अन्येनानुभूयत इति  
वाच्यम् । मानाभावात् ; द्वेधा हि वस्तुनः अप्रकाशस्स्यात् स्वयम्प्रकाशस्य सतः प्रकाशका-  
पेक्षया प्रकाशरूपस्य सतः प्रतिबन्धकसद्भावात् वा । न चैतद्व्ययम्प्रकृते सम्भवति ।  
विज्ञानस्य स्वप्रकाशस्य प्रकाशापेक्षाभावात् । परप्रकाशत्वे चानवस्थापातात्, अस्व-  
प्रकाशस्य परप्रकाशकत्वासम्भवात् ; प्रदीपादिर्हि स्वयम्प्रकाशमान एव घटादीनर्थान्प्रकाशयन्  
दृष्टः । तस्मात्स्वयम्प्रकाशस्य न प्रकाशान्तरापेक्षमग्रहणं, नापि प्रतिबन्धात् ; नह्युत्पद्यमानं  
सर्वं प्रतिबद्धप्रकाशमेवोत्पद्यत इत्येषाऽनुभवानुरोधिनी कल्पना । अतः उत्पद्यमानमेव ज्ञानं  
गृह्यते चेदर्थधीनाकारं प्रागर्थसम्बन्धान्निराकारमनुभूयेत । नचानुभूयते । तस्मात्साकारं  
विज्ञानं स्वेनैवानुभूयते स्वमेवानुभवति, न बाह्यमर्थम् । तदुक्तं—

“ नान्योऽनुभाव्यो बुद्ध्यास्ति तस्या नानुभवोऽपरः ।

प्राज्ञग्राहकैवधुर्यात्स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते ॥ ”

इति । अपि च सहोपलम्भनियमादपि ज्ञानव्यतिरेकिणोऽर्थस्याभावः । सर्वो ह्यर्थो  
ज्ञानैर्नैव साकमनुभूयते । न चैतदर्थज्ञानयोर्भेदे सत्युपपद्यते गवाश्वयोः परस्परं भिन्न-  
योर्नियतसहोपलम्भादृष्टेः । अपि च स्वाप्नादिज्ञानानां न बाह्यार्थविषयकत्वं संभवति,  
अत्यन्ताननुभूतस्यानुपपद्यमानस्यापि छिन्नस्वशिरसः भूतलादौ स्थितस्य स्वप्ने दर्शनात्,  
न हीदृगर्थो बहिः संभाव्येतापि, अतः ज्ञानाकारस्यैव तत्र भानं अकामेनाप्यभ्युपगन्तव्यं  
भवति तदैकरूप्याय जाग्रत्ज्ञानेष्वप्येवमेव कल्प्यतां किं वैरूप्येण । किञ्च, तिष्यः  
तारका, नक्षत्रमित्येकस्मिन्नपि विरुद्धानां लिङ्गानां कथं समावेशः तथा एकस्यामेव योषिति  
परित्राट्कामुकशुनामामिषसुन्दरीभक्षबुद्धयो यथाक्रमं जायमानाः कथमर्थस्य एकरूपत्वे  
उपपद्येरन् ? ज्ञानाकारस्य विषयत्वे तु तेषां भिन्नज्ञानगततया भेदेन सुतरामुपपद्यन्ते  
तस्माद्विज्ञानं साकारमेकं तत्त्वमिति ॥ अस्मिन्मतेऽपि उक्तीत्या भ्रमस्थले आत्मख्यातिरेव ।  
ननु एवं सति नेदं रजतमिति बाधकप्रत्ययः कथमुपपद्यताम् ? रजतस्यान्तरस्य बाधानन्तरमपि  
विद्यमानतया तन्निषेधायोगात् इति चेत्—न ; अन्यथोपपत्तेः । तथाहि—यद्वस्तु यादृश-  
मनुभूयते तत्तादृशमेवोपेतव्यमनुभवशरणैः । अन्यथात्वं पुनरस्य बलवता बाधकप्रत्ययेन ।



एवञ्च नेदं रजतमिति बाधकबाध्यं किं रजतं तस्य इदन्ता चेत्युभयं ? उतान्यतरत् ? इति विषये लाघवादन्यतरबाध एव कल्प्यः तत्रापि न तावद्धर्मि रजतं बाध्यम् किन्तु अस्य धर्मः इदन्तैव, धर्मिबाधापेक्षया धर्मबाधस्य ज्यायस्त्वात् तावतैवास्य बाधकप्रत्ययस्यापि चारितार्थ्यात् (१) रजतन्तु बहिष्पृक्वरूपस्य इदन्त्वस्य बाधादर्थत आन्तरं पर्यवस्यतीति ।

तदेवं निरूपिताऽऽत्मख्यातिः ।

१. एकदेशापबाधेन कल्पमाने च बाधके ।

न सर्वबाधनं युक्तमिति न्यायविदः स्थिताः ॥

(विभ्रमविवेकः)

# University Notes

## CONVOCATION.

The third Convocation of the University was held on Thursday, the 26th October, 1933, presided over by His Excellency, the Governor of Madras, the Chancellor of the University. The Address to the Graduates was delivered by Diwan Bahadur Sir T. Desikachariar, Kt., B.A., B.L.

## FOUNDER'S DAY

The fourth Founder's Day was celebrated on the 14th February, 1934, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Avl., Vice-Chancellor of the University. Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Ayyar, B.A., B.L., Advocate, delivered the Address.

## SPECIAL LECTURES

The following Special Lectures were delivered since the last issue

<i>Lecturer.</i>	<i>Subject.</i>
Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., University of Calcutta.	1. Antiquity of Hindu Chemistry.
	2. Makers of Modern Chemistry.
	3. Chemistry as applied to Industry.
Dr. A. Bake, Ph.D., University of Hague.	1. Different aspects of Indian Music.
	2. The development of the Western System of Harmony.
	3. The development of the Western System of Notation.
Prof. Kosambi of Fergusson College, Poona.	Five lectures on 'The Mathematical Analysis of Space.'

## CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

The Vice-Chancellor attended the annual meeting of the Inter-University Board held at Delhi in March, 1934.

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Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Avl., Vice-Chancellor of the University, Mr. S. Satyamurti, B.A., B.L., and Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, M.A., Ph.D., B.Com., Bar-at-Law, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, as delegates of the Annamalai University, attended the Quinquennial Conference of the Universities in India held at Delhi in March, 1934.

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Diwan Bahadur R. V. Krishna Ayyar, Avl., B.A., M.L., and Janab Basheer Ahmed Sayeed Sahib Bahadur, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., represented the University at the Tamil Lovers' Conference held at Madras in December, 1933.

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Dr. M. O. Thomas, M.A., Th.D., Dip. L.S. (Lond.), F.L.S., Chief Librarian of the University, acted as President of the All-India Rural Library Conference, which was held at Madras in December, 1933.

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### THE INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The Seventeenth Indian Economic Conference was held under the auspices of the Annamalai University on the 2nd January, 1934. His Excellency the Governor of Madras opened the Conference. The Hon. Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., LL.D., Founder-Pro-Chancellor of the University was the Patron of the Conference and Rao Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, Avl., M.A., I.E.S., the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Professor C. D. Thompson of the Allahabad University delivered the Presidential Address. There were a large number of papers contributed by the delegates representing almost every University in India. 'Economic Planning and Surveys' was taken up for discussion as the current topic and was initiated by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu, the Local Secretary of the Conference.

Dr. H. D. Robertson of the Cambridge University attended the Conference and took part in the discussion.

### RADIO

The Syndicate accepted with thanks the donation of Rs. 1,200 by the Founder-Pro-Chancellor towards the cost of installing a Radio set at Annamalainagar. Radio Music is provided in the evenings to the citizens of Annamalainagar on every alternate day.

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## COURSES OF STUDY

On the recommendation of the Academic Council and the Senate, the Syndicate has decided to institute courses in Botany and Zoology for the B.Sc. Degree with effect from year 1934-35.

On the recommendation of the Boards of Studies in History and Economics, the Syndicate has approved revised schemes for the B.A. (Honours) Degree examination.

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## M. LITT. AND M.Sc. RESEARCH DEGREES

During the year 5 students registered themselves for the M. Litt. and 4 students for the M.Sc. Degrees.

The Syndicate on the recommendation of the Examiners has decided to confer the M.Sc. Degree on Mr. A. Venkatasubban, B.A.

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## RESEARCH

The Syndicate has resolved to open a Special Research Department in Tamil in order to encourage publication of advanced books and facilitate Research.

A prize of Rs. 1,000 has been instituted for the best manuscript in Tamil on Chemistry suitable for use as a textbook for the Intermediate Examination.

Besides a large number of extension lectures delivered by the members of the Teaching Staff the following members have submitted papers to various Conferences and Journals:—

Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar.—Further Light on the Panchamahāsābda (Oriental Conference, Baroda). Agristic Serfdom in the Madras Presidency at the advent of the British Rule (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).

Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu.—Co-operative Movement in the Madras Presidency. The Economic Conditions at the advent of the British Rule. Economic Planning and Economic Surveys. (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).

The Library Movement and Rural Reconstruction (The All-India Library Conference).

Mr. C. W. B. Zacharias.—Population Problems (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).

- Mr. M. K. Muniswami.—Inflation and Public Works (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).
- Mr. V. Sivaraman (Research Student).—The Gold Standard and Its Future (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).
- Mr. R. Ramanujachariar.—Prapatti Mārga (Indian Philosophical Congress).
- Mr. P. S. Naidu.—Malebranche's Theory of Knowledge (Indian Philosophical Congress).
- Mr. A. Narasinga Rao.—On Isogonal point-pairs whose pedal circle cuts the 9 points circle at a constant angle (The Mathematics Student, Vol. I).
- Mr. G. V. Krishnaswami Ayyangar worked in the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal during the summer recess, examining the relation between absorption markings and prominences. A paper dealing with metallic prominences has been submitted for publication.
- Mr. B. Ramamurti.—Desargues Configuration admitting a Collineation group. (Journal of the London Mathematics Society, Vol. 8).
- Mr. S. Subrahmanyam.—On the Maximum of Population (The 17th Indian Economic Conference).
- Mr. P. Ganapathi (Research Student).—The Vector Regions of Convex closed bodies ; A note on the Oval ; The isoperimetric defect of a convex curve ; On a certain class of ovals. (Math. Zeitschrift. Vol. 36).
- Dr. S. Ramachandra Rao.—Total efficiencies of soft X-ray Excitation and Secondary Electron Emission from Metal Faces (Current Science, March, 1933). The Efficiency of Secondary Electron Emission (Proc. Royal Society, A. 139, 436, 1933). Diamagnetism of thin films of bismuth (Nature, 132, 207, 1933).
- Dr. S. N. Chakravarti.—A new general method for synthesis of O-alde-hydro-acids (Science Congress, Bombay).
- Dr. S. N. Chakravarti and Mr. M. Swaminathan.—A synthesis of 5:6 dimethoxy-homophthalic acid and of some Mono-methoxy homophthalic acids. A synthesis of 2:3 methelenedioxy 11:12 di-methoxy Oxy-protoberberine, an isomer of oxyberberine.

- Mr. T. S. Raghavan.—Petalody in the andrōecium of *Thespesia populuea* (Science Congress, Poona).  
Stomatic mitosis in *Allum Sativum*.
- Mr. R. V. Seshaiya.—Anatomy of *Paludomus tunchaurice*. (Under publication in the records of the Indian Museum). Some more style sacs of Gastropods (Science Congress, Bombay).
- Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti.—Sri Krishna Lila Suka (Ganganath Jha Commemoration Volume).
- Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma.—Sankara's authorship of the Gita Bhashya (B.O.R.I.).
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## Reviews

*Groundwork of Economics.*—By R. D. Richards, Ph. D., B.Sc., University Tutorial Press, Ltd., 1933. Price 4sh. 6d. Pages-304.

This useful book is now in its second edition and has been completely revised and enlarged. The incorporation of recent economic developments has done much to bring the book up-to-date. The author in this book tries to give a clear, concise and impartial survey of the whole field of Economics. Obviously, within the scope of one small volume every aspect of so complex and comprehensive a field of thought cannot be treated fully, but for the student preparing for elementary examinations and for the general reader, this book is very useful and adequate. It would form an excellent text-book for Intermediate students, treating as it does in a simple but satisfactory manner such topics as—International Trade, Markets, Money, Banking, Foreign Exchange and Taxation. Apart from this, the most important Economic problems of the day such as Unemployment, Social Insurance, Rationalisation of Industry, Trade Boards, the Minimum wage, Trade Unionism, the Co-operative Movement and Industrial Fluctuations are discussed in an admirably lucid manner.

A feature which distinctly adds to its value for the student is the summary at the end of each chapter and also the descriptive and historical introduction to the whole subject.

There are four appendices in which further information is given to supplement the information given in chapters IV, X, XVI, and XVII.

The whole book is very readable, sufficiently elementary and very sound.

B. V. N.

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*Śrī Mukundamālā with Tātparyadīpikā of Rāghavānanda.* Edited by K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A.

Students of South Indian history and culture must be greatly thankful to Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti for his edition of *Śrī Mukundamālā* with a hitherto unpublished commentary on it written by Rāghavānanda

in the seventeenth century. Mukundamālā is a Vaiṣṇavite lyric ascribed to Kulaśekhara, a monarch of Kerala. In an interesting article entitled 'The Kulaśekharas of Kerala,' which is published as an appendix to the present edition, the editor discusses the age of the author of Mukundamālā and assigns him to the close of the seventh century A.D. Whatever be the verdict of historians on this conclusion, his view that King Kulaśekhara and Ālwār Kulaśekhara are not identical is wholly sound. An authoritative history of the rise and development of Vaiṣṇavism in South India is yet to be written. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar attempted this task ; and his book 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism, etc.', excellent in many respects, introduced needless confusion into an already obscure chapter in Indian History. Following his lead, it has now become the fashion to enumerate the several streams that contributed to the development of Vaiṣṇavism. The editor refers to a Rama cult ; it is doubtful if a distinct Rama cult ever existed. Again, it is not correct to state that Ālvār Kulaśekhara was an advocate of the Rama cult ; his hymns sing the praises of Rama and Kṛṣṇa together.

There are several editions of Mukundamālā ; and, curiously enough, the text in no two editions agree. The present edition contains thirty-one stanzas. Many of the verses included in the several editions prevalent in the Tamil country are left out and new ones incorporated. Verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa and other works are found in the Mukundamālā. For these and other reasons, it has sometimes been suggested that Mukundamālā is a collection of verses taken from different sources rather than an independent work. An interesting feature of Rāghavānanda's *Tātparyadīpikā* is that it reads māyāvāda into the text. It is indeed curious that this vaiṣṇavite lyric should have been given an advaitic interpretation. In this connection the important question to decide is not whether advaitic thought was in existence at the time of Kulaśekhara, but whether he intended to convey the extreme form of māyā-monism in his work. Clearly, there is nothing in the text to warrant such an interpretation. Even a casual reading of the commentary will indicate the enormous pains taken by the commentator in forcing the cardinal principles of advaitism into the text, when it could be interpreted more naturally, faithfully and effortlessly in a different manner. Mr. Pisharoti makes the startling remark that 'in the interpretation of religious texts, the view-point of the commentator has always been more important and more authoritative than that of the author himself' and that 'a commentator need not necessarily be tied down by the metaphysical view-point of the Stotrakāras.' The commentator may not agree with the views of the author whom he interprets ; but the true function of his commentary is to elucidate the



meaning of the original and not to import his own doctrines into it. Faithfulness to the original may or may not be one of the virtues of this commentary ; still it makes very stimulating reading. In interpreting the text, it also elaborates the significance of the mystic texts, *Mukund-āṣṭādaśākṣaramantra* and the well-known *āṣṭākṣaramantra*. The editor's suggestive Introduction, and essay on the Kulaśekhara of Kerala and valuable appendices considerably enhance the value of this edition.

R. R.

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*Annamalai University Historical Series : Famous Indian Rajas ; Bhoja Raja.* By Professor P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, M.A.,—pp. 120, with illustrations, 1931, Madras Methodist Publishing House.

This monograph of the great Paramāra Raja Bhoja of Dhara who was an accomplished scholar, a liberal patron of Sanskrit learning and who still remains proverbial as the model Hindu king, is by the erudite and comprehensively learned Professor P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, the first occupant of the History Chair in this University. In his own flowing and limpid style, he has traced the complicated narrative of the early history of Mālva and of the glories of Ujjayini and Vidisā and dwelt on the story of Udayana and Vasavadatta and on the immortal associations of Kalidasa with that delectable land. He has given a detailed account of the origin of the Paramāras and of the tragic close of Muja Raja's brilliant career which ended with the expression of the fear that with his death "Sarasvati, abode of fame, will be without a column to support her seat."

The accession of Bhoja to the throne, the political condition of Northern and Southern India in the first half of the 11th century, the contemporary kings ; the wars of our hero, particularly his feuds with the Chalukyas of Kalyani and with the heroic Bhimadeva of Anahilavād are portrayed on the basis of a thorough examination of the epigraphic and literary evidence available. The qualities of head and heart of our hero are next dwelt upon ; and we also read of his monuments, including, the Sarasvati Shrine, 'a *chef d'oeuvre*' of rare beauty, and of the social and religious life of the times. The Professor suggests that there might have been a general filiation of Bhoja's works with Chola art and also with resembling features in the contemporary Pala and Orissan sculptures. The book can easily serve as a model of an accurate and withal brilliantly written biography of a hero-king ; it is well documented and based on a thorough examination of all available sources.

C. S. S.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*Über Die Gruppen Birationaler Transformationen Der Elliptischen Und Der Hyper Elliptischen Kurven In Sich.*

*Eine Methode Zur Approximativen Berechnug Einseitig.*

*Eingespantuter Druckstabe Mit Veranderlischen Querschnitt.*

*The Twelfth Annual Report of the East India Cotton Association, Limited, Bombay.*

## EXCHANGE LIST

*The Servant of India Society*

*Hindustan Review*

*Half Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*

*Economica*

*Philosophical Quarterly*

*Journal of the Indian Chemical Society*

*Reading University Gazette*

*Mysore Economic Journal*

*Chemical Abstracts*

*The Punjab University Gazette*

*Journal of the Bombay University*

*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.*

*Publications by the Oriental Library, Baroda.*

*Publications by Kungl. Universitetes Bibliotek, Uppsala, Sweden.*

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# JOURNAL OF THE ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

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VOL. III.

OCTOBER, 1934

No. 2.

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## Kerala Theatre

By

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(Continued from p. 113, Vol. I, No. 1.)

### V. SEMI-RELIGIOUS VARIETY.

No less important is the semi-religious variety of the Kerala Theatre which consists of the three important types (i) *Saṅghakkali*, (ii) *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam* and (iii) *Kūttu*. Each one of these is important in its own way. *Saṅghakkali* is an entertainment of a national character based on a religious function which might have had a political end, if our traditions may be believed ; and it led to the development of some comic songs and the utilisation of satire as a weapon of social and political reform. *Kṛṣṇāṭṭam* may tend to shed some light on the origin and development of Hindu dramas, an aspect which is probably found developed in the Yātras of Bengal<sup>1</sup>; and it is very important in so far as it led to the creation of the type of entertainment,<sup>2</sup> called *Kathakkali* and with it the richest part of our vernacular literature. *Kūttu* is indeed the most important of the series, because it has a wider significance. For in this type the orthodox traditions of Hindu dramaturgy exist in their living form. Equally important is its contribution to the elucidation of the

1. Mr. G. Thakurtha questions this generally accepted view : vide the opening chapters of his *Bengalee Drama* for a full discussion of the relationship between *Yātra* and *Sanskrit Drama*.

2. Vide the writer's paper on the *Kerala Theatre*, published in *Annamalai University Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 105-106.

*Bhāsa Problem*.<sup>3</sup> These have been grouped together and termed the semi-religious variety for the reason that they have some religious atmosphere introduced into them, though it must be said, there is nothing essentially religious about them.

(i) SAṄGHAKKAḲĪ.

The origin of *SaṅghakkaḲī* cannot be definitely ascertained, but if traditions may be believed, it consists of groups of *Saṅghas* meeting together for some national purpose, religious or secular, and amusing themselves by some spectacular entertainments. This type is known by a variety of names : *SaṅghakkaḲī*, *SvastikaḲī*, *ŚāstrakkaḲī*, and *YātrakaḲī*. It is called *SaṅghakkaḲī* for the reason that various *Saṅghas* take part in the performance. The conduct of this *KaḲī* as a votive offering is supposed to bring prosperity, and so it is termed *ŚvastikaḲī*. It is *ŚāstrakkaḲī* because with this are traditionally associated the beginnings of *Śāstraic* studies in the land. It is *YātrakaḲī*, or *procession-play*,<sup>4</sup> probably for the reason that this refers to the coming and going of some foreign elements.

The reported origin of this *KaḲī* is as follows. The great advance that Buddhism made in the land made it necessary to devise some measures to check the rising tide of that alien religion. The orthodox *vaidiks* therefore met in solemn conclave and as advised by Jaṅgamamaḥarṣi, they inaugurated this performance and in addition invited from outside six great *Mīmāṃsa* scholars to combat Buddhism and to organise a school of *Śāstraic* studies.<sup>5</sup> If any credence may be attached to this legend, then the beginnings of this variety of entertainment may well be put back to the early centuries of the Christian era.<sup>6</sup>

An examination of the various names by which the entertainment is known, of the various traditions associated with it and of its actual conduct reveals certain general features which shed light on its origin and antiquity. First of all, this entertainment came into existence when Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Kerala. Secondly, it must have been originated to check the rising tide of Buddhism, particularly

3. Vide the writer's papers : (i) *The Bhasa Problem* in the IHQ, Vol. I, pp. 103-11 ; 330-340 ; (ii) *The Bhasa Theory Again—A Reply to Prof. Keith*, IHQ, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 552-558.

4. *The Bengalee Drama*, p. 8.

5. Vide the writer's paper, *Religion and Philosophy in Kerala*, IHQ, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 712-14.

6. *Ibid.*, Note 5.

so if we may associate *Saṅghas* <sup>7</sup> originally with Buddhism. Thirdly it was an all-Kerala performance conducted for the purpose of achieving success in some great national enterprise. Fourthly with this is associated the coming in of foreigners into the land.<sup>8</sup> It is also clear that whatever its origin, this has been completely forgotten and it is very doubtful if the entertainment, as conducted at present, has anything to do with its original purpose. It seems that in this variety is preserved the shadow of what might once have been some grand national celebration of a victory in the field of religion or of politics; probably the former because of its religious associations, for it is even to-day held to be very auspicious to hold this performance. This further suggests its extreme antiquity, particularly because there is but very little of religion in it now.

The *Kaḷi* consists of five distinct sections : (i) *Keḷi* ; (ii) *Nālupādam-vaikkal* ; (iii) *Pāna* ; (iv) *Āṅgyaṅgal* ; and (v) *Hāsyāṅgal*, of which the second is supposed to be the most important part of the whole function. The entertainment is generally celebrated as a complement to some domestic ceremonies in the houses of well-to-do caste Hindu families. On invitation the representatives of the various *Saṅghas* come, and the first item of the programme consists in their sitting round a big wide-mouthed copper vessel, called *Cembu*, and singing songs keeping time by striking the vessel. This is followed by one of them becoming possessed and conducting a weird dance. The last item of the preliminary rite is to break a cocoanut, after which the man possessed becomes quieted down. This constitutes what is termed *Keḷikoṭṭu*<sup>9</sup> for this variety of entertainment. After this the party retires for their evening rites.

The next item of the programme is the *Nālupādam-vaikkal*, when a few brahmins of the party walk round a lighted lamp (See Pl. I Fig. 1), singing in accented tones a Malayalam verse.<sup>10</sup> This function over, they

7. Tradition speaks of a number of *Saṅghas* existing in Kerala.

8. Ibid., Note 5.

9. Cf. *Toṭayam* in *Kathākālī*, vide AUJ, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 106-107 ; also *Kriyā-cavuṭṭuka* in *Kūttu* described later on.

10. It is a very interesting question to raise why the actors should sing a verse in *Malayalam* on the occasion of what is treated as a very orthodox ritual. Is there an element of satire on the Buddhists' use of the vernacular as the language of their religion ? This cannot be, because such an aspect is inconsistent with any religious attitude. We may probably see in this the Buddhist influence in utilising the spoken language as a medium of religion and religious experience. If this view may be accepted, then we may see in this a close relationship between the *Kaḷi* and Buddhism.



all retire for their dinner, singing boat-songs on their way, and in the dining hall they make a hell of noise, vociferating like hungry gluttons. After the repast they again assemble in the open hall outside and perform what is termed *Uliccal*. Then they begin their *Āṅgyaṅgal* which consists in sword play, which is not unworthy of Don Quixote. This is followed by *Hāsyāṅgal*, in which the chief character is *Ittikāṇḍappan Kaimal*,<sup>11</sup> the impersonation of the master-idiot. In the first stage he figures as a swordsman and then as a fisherman and in both these capacities, he is made the butt of ridicule. Other characters also make their appearance, the more important being *Maṇṇan* and *Maṇṇatti*, the washerman and the washerwoman ; still another is the gipsy who entertains the audience with her dance. This last part can be played only by the members of one family, the Nāmpūtiri family of Pūntoṭṭam.

Such in brief is the order and nature of this type of entertainment. It does not require any stage or any curtain ; it generally takes place in the open air in the quadrangle of the house under a temporary canopy. The only source of light is the orthodox tall brass lamp, *nila-vilakku*, (See Pl. I. Fig. i, the lamp in the centre) with wicks on all the four sides. The costume and songs are very primitive and the wit stereotyped. But the natural simplicity characteristic of the performance and the religious halo enveloping it account for the appeal it makes to the masses. The main interest of the whole thing lies in its antiquarian aspect and in its songs which are characterised by an archaic flavour. One impression it leaves upon us is that the performance consists of two distinct elements ; one, a meeting of the leaders of the *Grāmams* for a religious or political purpose followed by their armed retinue and two, a farcical enactment by their followers to serve as a pastime for the masters.

## (ii) KRṢNĀṬṬAM.

*Kṛṣṇāṭṭam* is purely a Sanskrit entertainment, modelled probably upon the *Gītāgovinda*-acting and has the greatest halo of religious sanctity attached to it. As we have already mentioned, this type of play

11. This is a type of the local magnate we had in olden times and who is not very rare even in these days. Proud and haughty and conscious of his power and at the same time incapable of anything, he was in every way unworthy of the office he was called upon to fill by chance or the accident of heredity. He pretends to be brisk and clever and learned, but really he is just the opposite of what he pretends to be. He is an inimitable character drawn no doubt from actual life.

was originated by *Manaveda*,<sup>12</sup> Zamorin of Calicut, about the middle of the seventeenth century. The text of the play, *Kṛṣṇapadi*,<sup>13</sup> is written by the same prince, and it is a masterly imitation of Jayadeva's *Gītāgovinda*.

There are certain conditions attached to the conduct of the play. In the first place it is not all who can take part in the play : the players belong to certain specific Nayar families in the territory of the Zamorin of Calicut. Secondly, it is purely a family type of entertainment ; the play can never be enacted outside the limits of the kingdom and even there only in temples, royal courts, and the houses of aristocratic *Nāmpūtiris*. Another condition imposed upon the actors is that those who impersonate the more important characters must fast till the performance is over. The conditions laid down for its conduct, the antique nature of the costume and other accessories and acting—all these make the performance a very orthodox affair. In actual conduct it does not in any essential respect differ from its more popular offshoot, *Kathakalī*. It is entirely pantomime acting and dancing where *nṛttam* takes the most important place, the gesture language used being almost the same as that used in *Kathakalī*.

The actors are aided by music, both instrumental and vocal. There is the musician who sings and in accompaniment are sounded the musical instruments of *Maddalam*, *Elathālam* and *Cenkila*. As in *Kūttu*, the *Maṅgalācaraṇa* consists of the *Kriyācavuṭṭuka*<sup>14</sup> and the playing on the musical instruments. The whole performance is generally finished in nine days ; the play runs on for eight nights and on the ninth night is re-enacted the birth of Kṛṣṇa. Further, as has already been mention-

12. Vide writer's Introduction to the *Mukundamāla*, published as No. 1 of the Annamalai University Samskrit Series, page v ; also his paper on *The Kṛṣṇas of Kerala*, contributed to the Mm. Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume. This prince is reported to be a contemporary and pious follower of Vilvamangalam Swamiyar III, the head of Naṭuvil Madham and a great devotee of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He requested the saint to get him a vision of the divine Lord. The latter invoked the Lord and requested Him to satisfy the desire of Mānaveda. This accordingly the Lord did ; but the prince in the madness of the divine moment wished to embrace the Lord and rushed at Him. This was not requested of Him, a divine voice said, and the vision disappeared, but not before Mānaveda was able to snatch a peacock feather from off the coronet of the Lord. This self-same feather, as traditions report, adorns the crown of Kṛṣṇa which the actor impersonating Kṛṣṇa wears. This is also assigned as of the many reasons for the religious importance of this play.

13. The text has not yet been printed in Devanagari script.

14. See under *Kūttu*.

ed, the performance is restricted to specific times and places ; and as such cannot be acted to order. This variety of entertainment is performed as a votive offering, and the witnessing of the most important scene, *Kṛṣṇāvatara*, the birth of Kṛṣṇa, is supposed to give children to the childless on which occasion the pious for whose benefit the play is enacted go fasting the whole night till the performance is over. In this variety then we have an intensely religious play.

(iii) KŪTTU<sup>15</sup>

Kerala is probably the only place in the whole of India where Sanskrit Dramas are staged in an orthodox fashion ; and the temple of the locality, where alone such staging is allowed, has been the most popular recreation-place for all high caste Hindus. The local stage has a long history behind it, going back to the days of the later Perumals, the imperial suzerains of Kerala. If tradition is to be believed, it reached the acme of perfection during the days of Kulaśekhara Perumal,<sup>16</sup> who was not only a great poet and dramatist but a past master in the art of histrionics. Aided by Tolan, his minister and favourite, many innovations were introduced in the stage practice to make the acting more realistic and the stage more popular. This tradition is more or less confirmed by the opening words of the *Vyaṅgya-vyākhyā*<sup>17</sup> wherein the imperial dramatist commanded its author to sit in judgment on the stage-merit of his drama which the king himself acted. When it is remembered that there is no other tradition of a stage reformation, it may readily be conceded that the Sanskrit stage in Kerala may justly be proud of its antiquity. The numerous restrictions imposed upon the actors and their acting and the various peculiarities in their get-up and their mode of representation make *Kūttu* an interesting subject of study to the student of antiquities. And this study deserves to be made as early as possible, for this type of play is dying out. Apart from the local importance of *Kūttu*, as being

15. The matter presented in the following section has, to some extent, found publication in the various articles the writer contributed to the Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore ; the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Branch, Bombay ; the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta ; and the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

16. Vide the writer's paper, *The Kulaśekharas of Kerala* published as an appendix to his edition of the *Mukundamāla* (AUSS, No. 1), where the date of the author is discussed ; see also his paper *The Bhasa Theory Again—A Reply to Prof. Keith* IHQ, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 555-57.

17. Vide Introduction to the *Tapatisaṁvarana*, published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

one of the most ancient and popular of our entertainments, it has got a wider Indian importance, for in this we have the Sanskrit dramas staged. It is distinct from the staging of the same elsewhere, if such a thing exists at all, in our having made the *Vidūṣaka* give by word of mouth a translation of the verses which the hero acts and in our dispensing with the curtain which is found mentioned in the extant dramas.

It is again distinct from the other local varieties in that two conditions have to be satisfied before it can be acted. The first of these is as regards the place of acting. Like the other local varieties of entertainment, or the dramas elsewhere, *Kūttu* cannot be staged anywhere and everywhere. It must be acted only in *Devālayams*, i.e., temples. In some of the richly endowed temples in Kerala there is set apart a beautiful structure, adorned with all the skill of the architect and the sculptor, for the purposes of acting; and this is known as *Kūttambalam*—Theatre-temple (See Pl. I Fig. ii.) which is described in the concluding section of the paper. In temples where such a separate structure does not exist, the acting is generally conducted in the spacious dining hall. In every case, the theatre is in front of the temple to the right and the stage faces the idol and the actors act in front of the idol; and *Kūttu* scrupulously satisfies the injunction that it must be represented only in *Deva-Sadas*; not even in *Brahma-Sadas*. As a matter of fact it is never found acted in any place other than a temple, and therefore only caste Hindus are allowed in. It is quite in keeping with this that every major temple in Kerala has endowed a particular Cākyār family, in return for which they are to stage Sanskrit Dramas annually or during temple festivals.

The second condition relates to the actors themselves. Whereas all caste Hindus are allowed to take part in the other entertainments, only a particular section of *Ambalavasis* is allowed to act *Kūttu*. They are Cākyārs, their women the Naṅgyārs and the Naṁpiyars. The Naṁpiyars' main concern in *Kūttu* is to work the *Miḷāvū* (See Pl. II Fig. i.) a close-necked metallic jar with its mouth tied up with a piece of leather to help the acting of the Cākyār. The Naṅgyār (See Pl. II Fig. i.) besides being an actress, has also to help the Cākyār by sounding the cymbal generally and in some cases by reciting in musical tones the Sanskrit verses which the latter acts.

The Cākyārs, the most important of those allowed to appear on the temple stage, are, it is said, the descendants of *Sūtas* who graced every ancient Hindu court as the court bard or the minstrel. The term itself is taken as suggestive of it, inasmuch as it is interpreted to be a corrupt

form of *Ślāgyar*, a man of respectability, a respect due to his wisdom and learning. Tradition hath it that a particular *sūta* with his family came over to Kerala with one of the Perumals as his courtier. When his family was about to become extinct, it was allowed to adopt into it the children of Brahmin women born of criminal intimacy. This procedure continues even to-day. Such children, if invested with the sacred thread, become *Cākyārs*; if not *Nāmpiyars*. The girls are taken into either section indifferently. Such is their traditional origin; and this shows that these actors have behind them at any rate a long histrionic tradition.

These two restrictions, as regards the place of acting and the person acting, show that whatever acting there was in ancient days, had for its aim, as in ancient Greece,<sup>18</sup> the popularization of religion and the language of this religion. Religion coloured the whole performance and hence its appeal to all classes of caste Hindus. This is again emphasised by the subject matter of the plays which is mainly taken from the venerable epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhāratha*, though naturally the actors have a partiality for the story of Rāma. Such a necessity could have taken place only in the early days of Aryan colonisation. Hence *Kūttu* came to have a religious character impressed upon it, a character which it retains to-day; for instance the *Cākyārs* are even to-day enjoined to fast till the performance is over.

In the early stages, this acting must have been modelled upon the old *Sūta*'s narrations, amplified probably with exposition and illustration, a form that is still living in *Prabandham Kūttu*, one of the three varieties of *Kūttu*. (See Pl. II Fig. ii.). The next step must have been regular dramas. In those days the works of Harṣa, and possibly of Kālidāsa, may have held the stage; for we find that the *Nāgānanda* has been a favourite piece with the *Cākyārs*. The next noticeable stage is when we come to the days of Tolan towards the close of the 8th century A.D. Religion and the institutions intended to further it had by his time taken root among the people and these no longer needed the active service of *Kūttu*. In the meanwhile social and political institutions had grown up and become more or less rigid. Abuses crept in and the wise and far seeing minister utilised this as a powerful weapon of social reform. The *Cākyārs* enjoyed absolute freedom of speech on the stage. Availing himself of this, Tolan introduced certain very effective changes. Personal references, pointed allusions, and innuendos were the weapons

18. Cf. Allardyce Nicoli: The Development of Theatre, p. 20.

put into the hands of the Cākyārs and these they used unsparingly, whether the victims were princes or nobles, patricians or plebians, when the good of the society necessitated an exposure of their conduct. Of course, the serious characters are never the mouthpiece of this satire, but only the inevitable *Vidūṣaka*. From the days of Tolan down to the present time, *Kūttu* has been serving not merely as a pleasant recreation but as an effective social tonic.

*Kūttu*, as suggested before, has three modes of entertainment, (i) *Prabandham Kūttu* (ii) *Naṅgyār Kūttu* and (iii) *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*. Of these, the first is pure narration with exposition; the second is pure acting, while only the last variety is a full fledged theatrical representation. In the first and the last of these, all the three, Cākyār, Naṅgyār and Naṁpiyar, have to be on the stage, while in the second variety the Cākyār's presence is not needed. As for the time of acting the first is acted in the afternoon, the second just after nightfall and the last one *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* is generally acted only during night except when the *Mahānāṭaka* is acted.

#### a. *Prabandham Kūttu*.

In this the Naṁpiyar plays on the *Milāvū* (See Pl. II-Fig. i; also Pl. VI—ii) and the Naṅgyār sounds the cymbal in tune with the Cākyār's acting. (See Pl. II Fig. i). The Cākyār recites a verse from a *Prabandham*, generally that which deals with the story of Śrī Rāma, then he acts it; and afterwards he proceeds to expound it. The greatness of the actor in this case is to be measured not so much by his histrionic talents, as by his power of exposition which is often illuminated by apt and suitable analogies from current social, religious and political events of a praise-worthy or reprehensible character. It is here, as also in *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* that *Kūttu* discharges the function of a cathartic. The Cākyār here must be a sound scholar. The old generation of Cākyārs were great scholars, and, no wonder, even at the present day, their explanations, their interpretations and their appreciations hold good. Thanks to the work done by them, Kerala has always been a strong centre of literary studies.

#### b. *Naṅgyār Kūttu*.

In this variety of *Kūttu*, (See Pl. II Fig. i.) the Naṅgyār takes the place of Cākyār. The most interesting point in connection with this is that a woman appears on the stage. Here we have only pure acting and naturally this affords no scope for satire. The actress is helped by the instrumental music of the *Milāvū* and the cymbal. Dressed in a queer way, she first recites a verse and afterwards acts in pantomime.

c. *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*.

The most important variety in the *Kūttu* family is *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* where we have Sanskrit dramas staged. The term itself is quite significant. It is composed of two words, *Kūṭi*, meaning *combined* and *āṭṭam*, meaning *acting*, and yields the idea, combined acting. It is mixed or combined either because both the *Cākyār* and the *Naṅgyār* appear on the stage to act, or because more characters than one appear on the stage, or because there is a mixture of narration and acting, or, again, as we are inclined to think, because of all these facts.

The first preliminary in *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* is what is known as *Kūttu-purappāṭu*, i.e., the starting of *Kūttu*. The stage is well adorned with green leaves, flowers, cocoanuts and plantains. A big lighted lamp, and a *Narapara*, a measure full of paddy are kept facing the actor. When the preliminaries are arranged and the actor is ready to appear on the stage, the instrumental music is sounded. On this occasion the usual music of *Milāvū* and cymbal is supplemented by *Madhaḷam*, *Kombu*, and *Kuḷal*. (See Pl. II Fig. ii). After sounding the *Milāvū*, the *Nāmpiyar* retires into the green-room and, bringing some holy water, sprinkles it upon the stage, reciting the *Nāndi-Śloka*, i.e. the benedictory verse of the drama more correctly of the act that is to be staged. This is known as *Araṅgu Talikkuka* (sprinkling the stage with water) and with this are over all the items of *Nāndi*.<sup>19</sup> Then the musical instruments are once again sounded, and after this enters the *Sūtradhāra*, or the stage-manager, of the play.

The *Sūtradhāra* enters the stage and treats us to a queer kind of stepping, accompanied by dancing, which is known as *Kriyācavuṭṭuka*,

19. Vide writer's *Note on the Nāndi*, BSOS, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 819-21. The reading given in the commentary, the extract of which was published there is perfectly legitimate and relevant, when *Nāndi* is understood as described here. It is not a mere recitation of a verse—it is doubtful if such a recitation forms part of it—but a very elaborate ceremony done for the most part within the green-room, at the close of which the *Sūtradhāra* comes upon the stage and recites the opening verse. It may be pointed out here that every act that the *Cākyār* stages has an introductory verse attached to it, which is to be recited at the close of the *Nāndi* ceremony, and this verse forms an announcement of the act that is to be staged. This would mean that the so-called *Nāndi* verses, in such of the dramas of the Kerala-nāṭaka-cakra which come under the now well-known but *wrong* category of *Bhāsa-nāṭakacakra* are but introductory verses to the first act and not the *Nāndi* verses of the whole drama. Cf. Writer's note on the subject in his translation of the *Dūta-ghatōtkaca*, published in the *Shama'a* of Madras. This is a very important point particularly for *Bhasites* to ponder over.

*stepping out the action.* After this he recites to the accompaniment of music, some verses, dancing in a peculiar way all the while. This is followed by the *Sthāpana* of the play, or as we would put it, of the act. Even though the text of the drama may have a *Naṭi* taking part in it, she never makes her appearance on the stage. The *Sūtradhāra* does her part also.<sup>20</sup> This takes us to the end of the first day's acting.

On the second day the scene opens with the character that the *Sūtradhāra* has mentioned the previous day. This will generally be the hero of the play. But even now the play proper is not begun, for this actor acts only what forms the introduction to the particular act of the play which is to be staged. This is known as *Nirvacana* and this takes us to the end of the second day.

Here it may be pointed out that on no occasion is a drama staged in full, but only particular acts. The chief reason for this is probably the long period of time it may have to run and the practical difficulties of staging. A full description as to how the Cākyār must act the various dramas is given in the books, '*Kramadīpika*, and *Āṭṭa Prakaraṇa*, books which form the actor's manual and guide. Each Cākyār family has got copies of these books, but keeps them so jealously that they are not easily available.

20. Here again is another interesting point for Bhasites to ponder over. The curtailment of the character of the *Naṭi* is made no doubt as a measure of economy. And this could easily be done for it does not materially affect the play. When, however, this is done, the conversational character of the scene ceases: it becomes a mere monologue by the *Sūtradhāra*. Again, when the *Sthāpana* or *Prastāvana* is thus curtailed as a result of economising, it is but natural to expect the dropping out of such elements in it as have no immediate bearing upon the scene they are going to represent. Thus, the reference to the author, the history of the composition of the play and the occasion of its staging—these details could conveniently be omitted. Thirdly, since Cākyārs act only chosen acts at a time, they have to give an introduction on more or less the same lines for everyone of the acts they stage. Hence, we find a stereotyped variety of *Sthāpana*. Such a *Sthāpana*, therefore, does not point to Bhāsa's authorship of the particular act, but it simply means that it was an act popular on the Kerala stage. It may be pointed out that its main function, as it is now presented, is to announce the main incident of the act or mention the main character that appears on the stage. This then is the result of a living dramatic technique. Thus, as before, here also the nature of the *Sthāpana* does not point to any unity of authorship, much less to Bhasa's authorship, but only reveals the accepted stage practice of Kerala. If at all *Sthāpanas* do tell us anything it is only this—that those acts were very popular on the Kerala stage. This also should serve as an eyeopener to the Bhasites.



The *Nirvacana* being over on the second day, the main story begins on the third day in the case of those dramas which have no *Vidūṣaka*. In case, however, there is a *Vidūṣaka*, the main story has yet to wait for three or four days. For on the third day the *Vidūṣaka* comes on the stage and lords it over for the next three days at the least by the exposition of what are known as *Puruṣārthas*, or the aims of life. These are according to him, four in number : (1) *Vinoda*, i.e., the enjoyment of the pleasures of life ; (ii) *Vañcana* or deception, (iii) *Aśana* i.e., feasting ; and (iv) *Rājaseva*, i.e., service under kings. The exposition and acting of these take four days, but are generally done in three days by rolling up the first and the second varieties together. These four items teem with wit and humour. It is here that the offensive social customs and manners, the oppressive conduct and behaviour of those in power are exposed and held up to censure and ridicule. It is here, in short, that *Kūttu* appears as a powerful weapon of civic and social reform.

For the realisation of these *Puruṣārthas*, the people of the village of *Anadhīta-Maṅgala* i.e., the *Village of Illiteracy* assemble together under the leadership of the village priest, whose qualification for this post by the way is that neither he nor his father nor his father's father ever studied any *Mantra* or *Tantra* ! Of those assembled, the most important are the *Unṇi-Nāmpūtiris*, the various types of *Ambalavāsis*, and the *Nāyar* element comprising the local magnates and the temple musicians. Here we have the unit of a Kerala Hindu village. There is, it must be remembered, only one actor on the stage and he has to act the assembling of this crowd, their deliberating as to what should be done to realise the aims of life, their bickerings and finally their coming to a decision. The *Cākyār* here figures as a perfect mimic. In impersonating this typical assemblage one by one, the actor takes the opportunity to ridicule their social and moral vices. In this case it goes without saying that the success of acting depends entirely on the actor's power of mimicry.

*Vinoda* is acted on the third day of *Kuṭiyāṭṭam*. The people of the *Village of Illiteracy* having assembled, they set about devising means as to how best they can satisfy their animal passion. This occasion is utilised to indulge in a lot of abuse on the immorality current in the society. The names of so many ladies are suggested one after another, but each one is given up for the reason that she has some failing or other. Here, then, we have a process of elimination wherein are displayed all the failings that man and woman are together liable to. It need scarcely be said that this unsparing annual satire has been exerting a very salutary influence in keeping up the tone of social morality. The next item,

*Vañcāna* is generally mixed up with *Vinoda*. The *Viddi*, fool, one amongst the villagers, is made the thief, and the occasion is utilized for much moralizing of a very valuable nature.

On the fourth day we have the third of the *Puruṣārthas* described and acted. Here no sort of curtailing is ever made or allowed to be made. The feast is described and the feasting is acted most realistically, the *Vidūṣaka* playing the role of an ideal glutton. Here we have mimicry in the purest and the most realistic form teeming with illustrations, brimful of humour, so much so that even a chronic dyspeptic will evince the keenest relish for a feast, if only he were to see this acting.

On the fifth day we have *Rājaseva*, the last of the *Puruṣārthas*, acted, when the ruling chief and his magnates come up for their share. The assembled villagers discuss among themselves as to who is the best king under whom they could take service. One suggests the chief of this place, another of that place. The various suggestions are over-ruled in favour of a particular chief. In this process of elimination the whole machinery of government has its weakness revealed. The *Cākyār* ventilates the grievances of the ruled. He describes in pitiful terms the hard lot of the people in general and of the subordinate officers. The numerous sufferings, physical and mental, which these have to endure consequent upon the carelessness, inconsiderateness and indifference of the masters are portrayed in but too vivid colours. Even the crowned and anointed chief is not exempt from the criticism of the *Cākyār*, and this is true even at the present day. His acts which are oppressive or obnoxious or unpopular are mercilessly exposed. His policy, when it is not conducive to the well-being of the people, is criticised downright. In short, the *Cākyār* brings home to the ruler how the people view him and his acts. And note this is done often and for the most part in the very presence of royalty, a presence which only makes the *Cākyār* more unsparingly eloquent. Such open unsparing criticism was, it need scarcely be said, very valuable in those pre-newspaper days in that it tended to improve both the ruler and the ruled. In this feature *Kūttu* fulfils the functions which the Miracle plays of mediæval Europe were performing. The three P's, the butt of the actors, in our case mean evidently men in authority, religious and secular.

After this long process of elimination, the leader comes to the conclusion that there is only one king on the face of the globe who is worthy of being served and that is none other than the hero of the drama they intend to stage, and the motley crowd of villagers start away to take service under him. Thus is this long introduction, perhaps not strictly

dramatic as some may be inclined to think, but none the less entertaining and instructive, connected with the drama to be staged.

On the sixth day of the *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*, the Cākyārs act the chosen scene of the chosen drama. All the characters appear on the stage, the male part being taken by Cākyārs, and the female part by Naṅgyārs. Even on this occasion the characters, except *Vidūṣaka*, never speak, but only use the gesture language which is greatly helped by the expressiveness of the eyes and the face. The actors come dressed in character, dressed indeed in a queer way. The mode of dressing is different in the case of the characters of different dramas. Thus for instance the characters of Jimūtavāhana, the hero of the *Nāgānanda*, and Arjuna, the main character in the *Dhanañjaya*, and Śrī Rāma of the *Ramānāṭakas* appear in different costumes. The inevitable *Vidūṣaka* appears in his weird dress. The main function of this character is to recite for the benefit of the masses a vernacular translation of every verse that the hero acts. The part played by him in this respect is very significant, in as much as this marks a deviation in our mode of representing a Sanskrit drama, the more so because no provision is made for such a process in the dramas themselves. Here, then, we have an innovation introduced by a discerning critic to make the drama more popular. Tradition assigns this honour also to Tolan. This was also important in that in this we may see the first beginnings of *Maṇipravālam* which arose from the need for a hybrid language for the use of the *Vidūṣaka*, a language worthy of the character. This language is characterised by the preponderance of Sanskrit. Thus was begun for the use of the Sanskrit stage a type of language which in due course came to be looked upon as the norm of cultured Malayalam style.

According to the tradition of the Cākyārs the number of Acts in which they can train themselves, or are trained, is seventy-two, including the one act dramas and *Prahasanas*. Many of these are identified and they are the following.

1. *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya* ;
2. *Tapatī-saṁvarana* ;
3. *Nāgānanda* ;
4. *Mahānāṭaka* ;

The different acts of these four dramas, Nos. 1-4, have no special names, so far as we know.

5. *Mattavilāsa* ;
6. *Kalyāṇa-saugandhika* ;

7. *Madhyama-vyāyoga* ;
8. *Bhagavad-ajjuka*.
9. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-dūta* or *Dūtavākya*,<sup>21</sup>
10. *Dūta-ghatōtkaca* ;<sup>22</sup>
11. *Karṇa-bhāra* or *Karṇakavaca* ;<sup>23</sup>
12. *Ūrubhaṅga*.<sup>24</sup>

Nos. 5—12 have only one act each, named as above.

13. *Pañcarātra*.

The names of two of the acts are available. They are : *Veṭṭāṅka* and *Bhīṣma-dūtāṅka*.

14. *Avimāraka*.<sup>25</sup>

The names of the first five acts have been obtained. They are (a) *Annōṭṭaṅka*, (b) *Dūtāṅka*, (c) *Abhisariyāṅka*, (d) *Parvāṅka* and (e) *Māṭamettāṅka*.

15. *Aścarya-cūḍamaṇi*.

The following are the names of the acts ; (a) *Parṇasālaka*. (b) *Śūrpaṇakāṅka*, (c) *Māyā-(Sītā)ṅka*, (d) *Jaṭāyuvadāṅka*, (e) *Aśoka-vanikāṅka*, and (f) *Aṅgulīyaṅka*.

16. *Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka* :—

The names of three acts only are available and they are : (a) *Bāli-vadha*, (b) *Toraṇayudha*, and (c) *Māyāśirasaṅka*.

17. *Pratimā-nāṭaka*<sup>26</sup> :—

The various names of the acts are : (a) *Vicchinnābhiṣekaṅka*, (b) *Vilāpāṅka*, (c) *Pratimāṅka*, (d) *Aṭavyamaṅka*, (e) *Rāvaṇaṅka*, (f) *Bharataṅka*, and (g) *Abhiṣekaṅka*.

18. *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa* :—

The acts are named as follows : (a) *Mantrāṅka*, (b) *Mahasenāṅka*, and (c) *Ārāṭṭaṅka*.

21—27. The writer has published critical translations with notes of these dramas : 21—in the People's Friend, Trivandrum ; 22—the Shama'a, Madras ; 23 and 24—the Maharaja's College Magazine, Ernakulam : 25—the Shama'a, Madras ; 26—the Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

19. *Svapna-vāsavadatta*<sup>27</sup> :—

The six acts are respectively known as : (a) *Brahmacaryaṅka*, (b) *Pantāṭṭāṅka*, (c) *Pūttuṭāṅka*, (d) *Śephālikāṅka*, (e) *Svapnāṅka*, and (f) *Citrāphalakāṅka*.

20. *Bālacarita* :—

One act of this is termed *Mallāṅka* ; the names of other acts are not available.

21. *Cārudatta* :—

According to a Cākyār, one of the acts of this drama is known as *Vasantasenāṅka*.

22. *Śri-kṛṣṇa-carita*.23. *Umāda-vāsavadatta*.24. *Śākuntala*.

These twenty-four dramas are connected with our stage. They may be broadly classed under three heads : (a) those that are popular even to-day, (b) those that were once popular, and (c) those that are only traditionally reported to be popular. Under the first head may be included the first eight. Under the head (c) come the last three dramas mentioned above, and of these, two are yet unknown, while the last was put on boards only once. Under the head (b) may be put down all the rest of the dramas in the above list.

The two dramas, *Dhanañjaya* and *Tapatī-saṁvarana*, are the productions of Kulaśekhara, one of the Perumals of Kerala, who appears to have lived in the middle of the 8th century A.D. They were written for the Kerala stage by a Kerala Prince. They have also a commentary written by the author's courtier from the actor's point of view. These commentaries are, therefore, very important documents for the students of the Kerala stage, though Dr. Mm. T. G. Sastri of Trivandrum did not think fit to publish them.

The *Nāgānanda* has been, and is still, a very popular drama on our stage, a popularity which may to a great extent be explained by the fact that Kerala was the last stronghold of Buddhism and Jainism in India. This drama has taxed the actors' and the stage-managers' in-

genuity to the last limit. Tradition says that even the fourth act used to be realistically staged, the actor impersonating *Garuḍa* actually flying through air! The last successful flight was made at Iriñjalakuda, when the actor actually rose out of the temple stage and flew through air and safely perched himself on the top of a hill about one and a half mile to the north of the temple. The hill is even now known as *Kūttu-parampu*. About two centuries ago an attempt at flight was made under the patronage of the then Maharaja of Cochin at his headquarters at Kurikad, a village four miles away from Tripunittura. But it ended unsuccessfully, for the actor who manipulated the cords—I don't know the exact significance of the word—failed in his work and consequently the actor came to grief. Since then the attempt has not been repeated. It will form a valuable addition to our knowledge, if complete directions regarding the flying can be got. The second act of the drama, containing the suicide scene, is being acted even now. A fairly long piece of cloth is twisted round with a noose made at one end and the other end is fixed to the ceiling. The character inserts her neck in the noose—women alone are allowed to impersonate this character—and rushes down in a giddy whirl about five feet. From their point of view this is no doubt an achievement.

The *Mahā-nāṭaka* is traditionally looked upon not as an original Nāṭaka but as one compiled from various dramas. The one peculiarity connected with it is that it is the only drama that is acted during day-time.

The *Bhagavadajjuka* is a little *Prahasana* which has once been very popular on our stage. It has an elaborate commentary detailing how to stage it. The text proper does not contain the name of the author, but the colophon in one of the manuscripts in the Paliyam Mss. Library assigns it to Bodhayana. This and the *Mattavilāsa* constitute the two farces popular on our stage.

The *Kalyāṇa-saughandhika* is a popular drama: with this drama is connected the famous *ajagaranṛttam*. It affords excellent scope for acting and is the work probably of a *Cākyār*.

Amongst the five one-act dramas, the most popular is the *Dūta-vākya* or *Śrīkṛṣṇadūta*, as it is called. The other dramas of the series also must have been staged, because extracts from them are found in a manuscript which contains all the scenes to be acted in a particular temple in Travancore. The *Pañcarātra* and the *Avimāraka* might have been popular stage plays, but now they are not commonly staged, even though they afford ample scope for *Cākyārs* to act.

The *Aścaryacūḍāmaṇi*, the *Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka* and the *Pratimā-nāṭaka*—these three constitute the twenty-one acts depicting the life of Śrī Rāma. They have been always very popular, though at the present time they act only a few select scenes. These three dramas are known among Cākyārs as *Cerīya-abhiṣeka*, *Valīya-abhiṣeka* and *Pāḍukābhiṣeka*. Of the next three dramas, at least one act of one of them, the *Mallāṅka* of the *Bālacarita* has been popular. Regarding the *Cārudatta*, no information is yet available as regards its ever having been popular on our stage. The *Śrīkṛṣṇacarita* remains yet to be discovered, if it may not be identified with the *Bālacarita*.

The *Umāda-vāsavadatta*, which is a work of Śaktibhadra, the author of the *Cūḍāmaṇi*, might have been a popular stage play, but it is yet to be discovered. The *Śākuntala*, tradition says, was once put on the stage, but when the Cākyār acted the opening scene, he spoiled his eyes when he looked at two objects in opposite directions, as the scene required. After this experience, it has not been staged.

Enough now has been said to show that many dramas have been popular on our stage, the total number of acts prepared for the stage being seventy-two according to the oral testimony of a Cākyār. If this be true, some dramas yet remain to be discovered.

Taking *Kūttu* as a whole, we have here in a limited way dance and music, narration and exposition, imitation, representation and pantomime acting. There is enough difference in the mode of acting the different varieties of this family and the sympathetic audience has enough food for enjoyment, both intellectual and aesthetic. Not only that, it has done much for educating our society and for raising the standard of our literary culture. No doubt *Kūttu* is steadily declining in popularity and a detailed study of the same deserves to be made because of its intrinsic worth and because of its dramatic and historical importance. And even now it is not too late. The so-called modern refinements of the stage have not begun to exert their influence on *Kūttu*. It still continues in its antique mode of representation. The mode of dressing, the mode of acting and the mode of staging—in short the stage technique—has remained the same, probably since the days of Tolan, i.e., probably a little over a millennium.

Mention has been made in the preceding section to *Kūttambalam*—Theatre-temples, where *Kūttu* is staged—and we shall not better conclude than with a reference to these interesting structures. In the Cochin State two such structures exist, one at Irīñjalakuda and the other

Fig. i.



*(Through the courtesy of the Superintendent,  
the State Museum, Trichur.)*

Fig. ii.

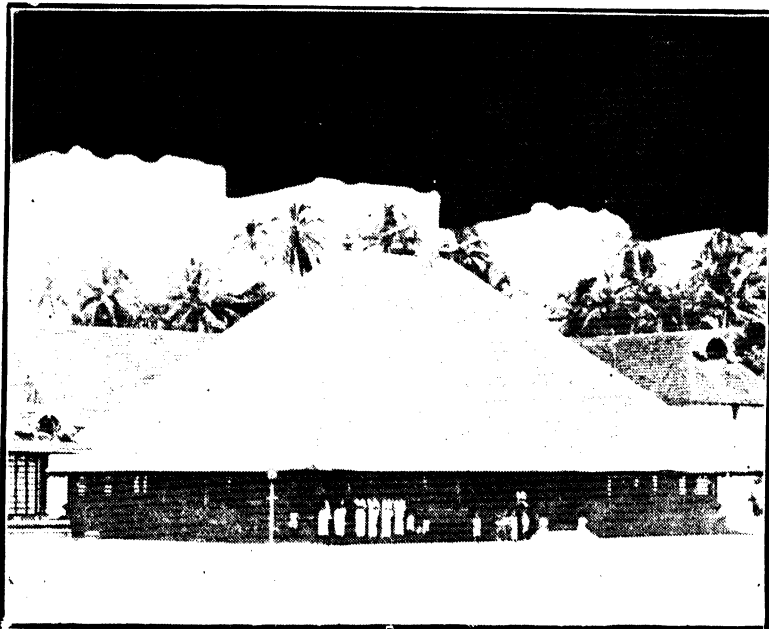


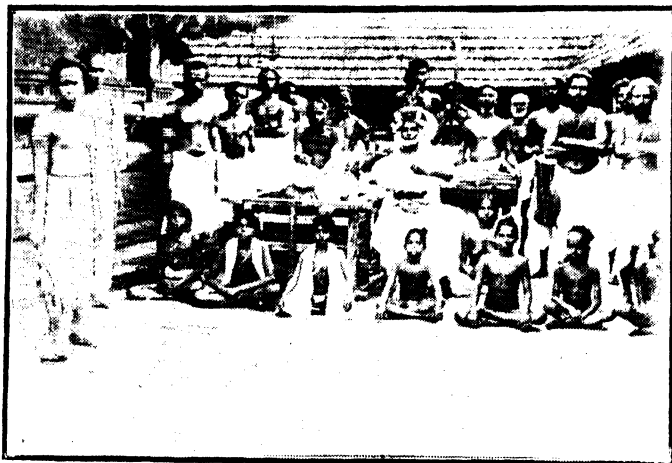


PLATE II.

Fig. i.



Fig. ii.



*(Through the courtesy of the Hony. Superintendent,  
the State Museum, Trichur.)*

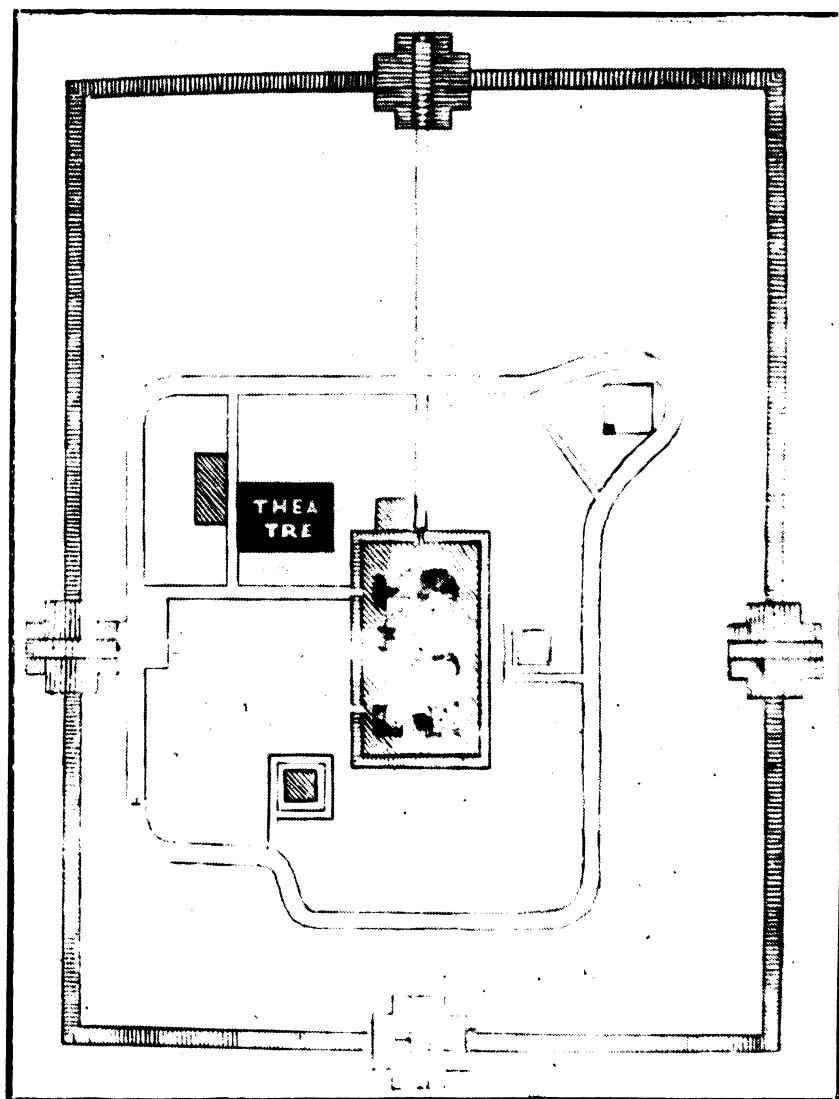


PLATE IV.

Fig. i.

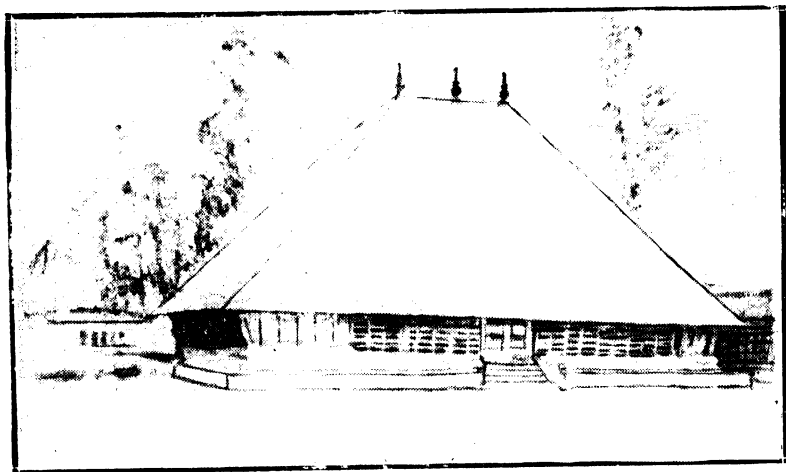


Fig. ii.

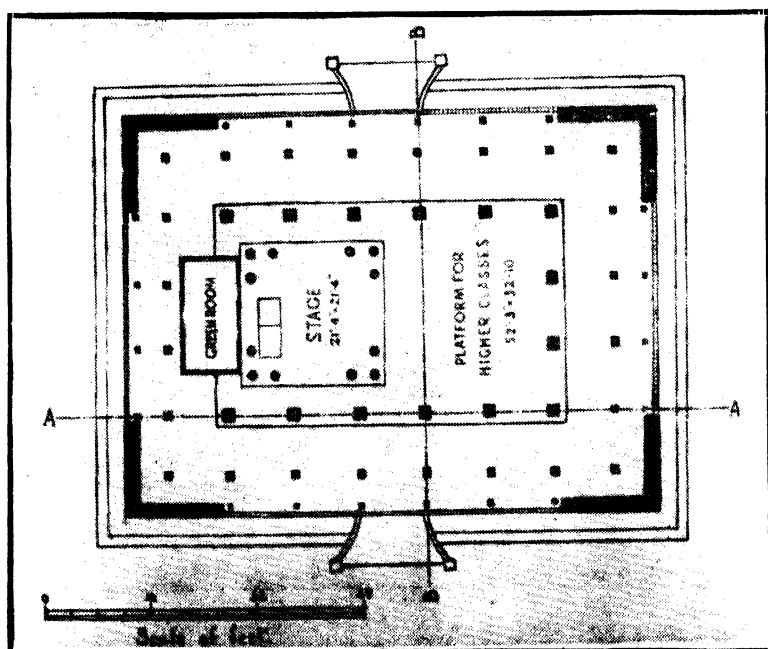


Fig. i.

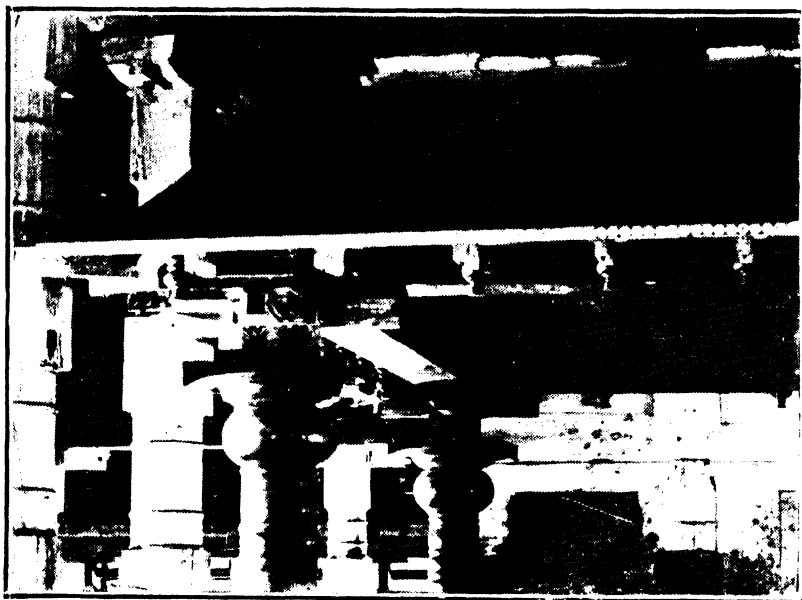


Fig. ii.

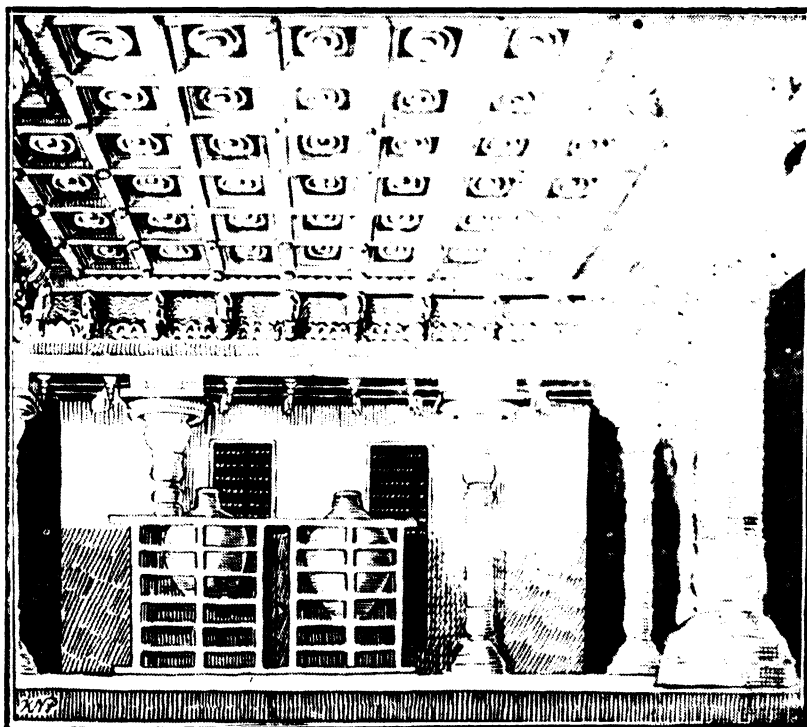


PLATE VI.

Fig. i.

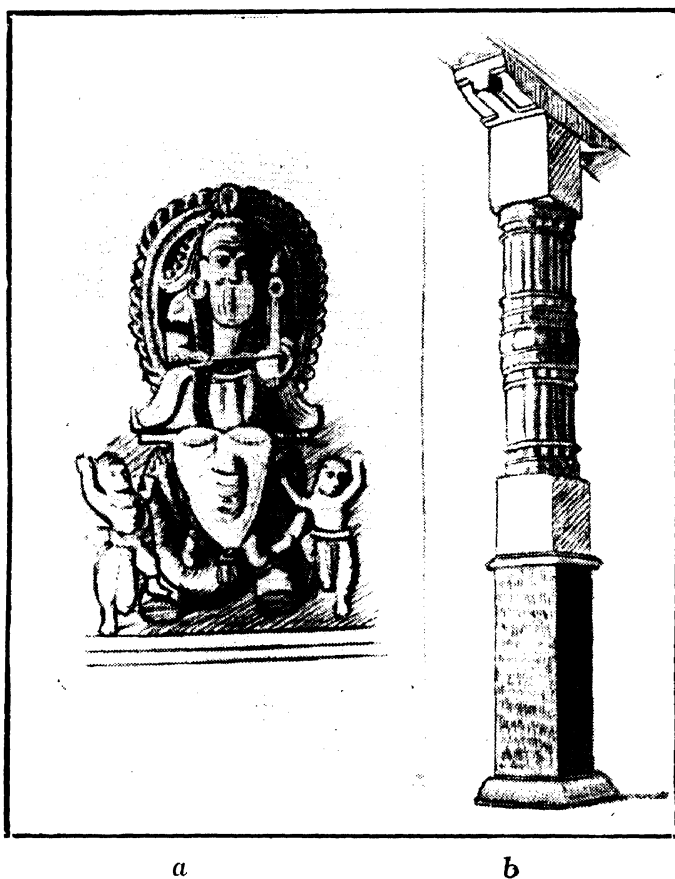


Fig. ii.

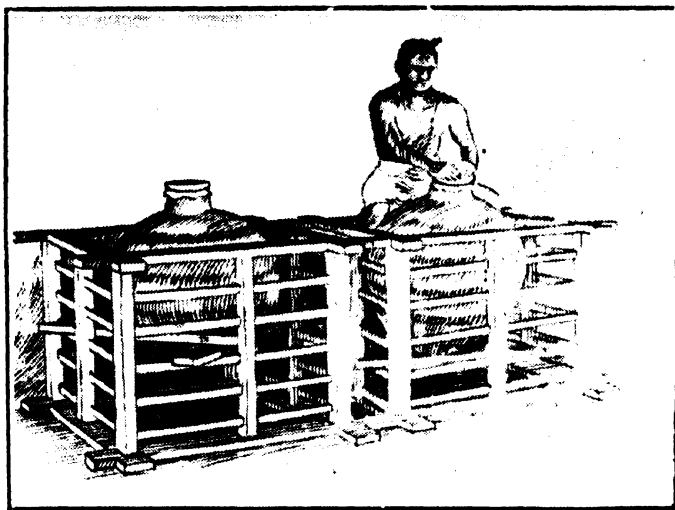


Fig. i.

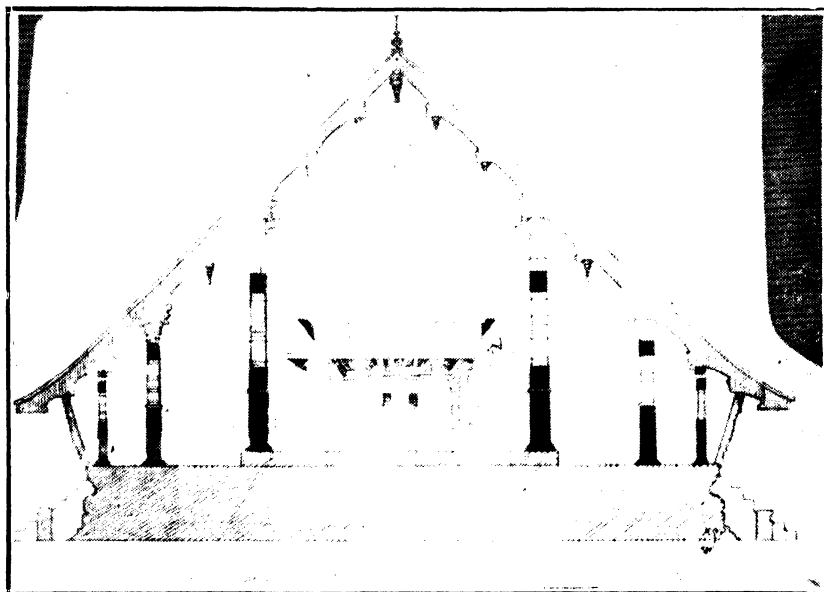
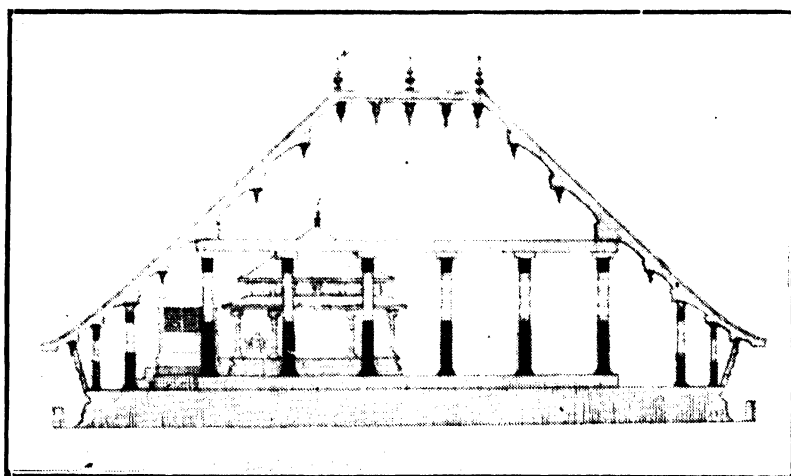


Fig. ii.





at Trichur. They are by no means ancient structures. In structural details and in appearance they are alike. A general view of the former can be had from Plate I. Fig. ii, and of the latter from Plate IV. Fig. i.

The theatre-temple at Trichur is situate to the north-west of the sanctum sanctorum (See Pl. III.) and lies east and west with two main entrances one north and the other south (See Pl. IV. Fig. ii.) The basement stands about four feet above the level of the ground and is worked in granite with all the detail-ornamentation of the *adhiṣṭhāna* in the orthodox fashion. The superstructure is made of wooden rails (See Pl. IV. Fig. i.) Entering the theatre from the south one finds a raised platform in the centre of the structure running east and west divided into three distinct parts (See Pl. IV. Fig. ii.), the central portion being higher than the one on the east or west. The western-most part constitutes the green-room which is marked off from the rest by screen walls. It has two divisions, one reserved for males and the other for females. The eastern part is the auditorium, where the Brahmin aristocracy seats itself. The central portion which is slightly higher than the auditorium forms the stage proper. It is a square area with an ornate ceiling (See Pl. V. Fig. ii.) supported by ornamented pillars. (See Pl. VI Fig. ib). Notice the exquisite wood-carving on the ceiling (See Pl. V. Figs. i and ii)—the figure of Narada (See Pl. VI. Fig. ia). From the green-room are two entrances into the stage and between them is located the musical instruments (See Pl. VI Fig. ii). All around this central flat, there are pillars to support the roofing, the nature of which will be clear from Plate IV. Fig. ii, while the section views of the same will be clear from Plate VII. The roof is copper-sheeted and adorned by three golden domes (See Pl. IV. Fig. i.) The whole forms an imposing structure. It is a general rule that the theatre should be in front of the temple to its right (See Pl. III), so that the actors will be facing idol when they act.

This takes us to the end of our present study of the Kerala Theatre. I have in the course of the paper surveyed sixteen varieties of representations popularly current in Kerala. I may not have exhausted the varieties and types; my descriptions have been meagre and scrappy and this could not be otherwise, for the information on the subject has to be collected from strolling bands of actors. However, enough, I believe, has been said to show that here is a little known but wide field for research which promises to elucidate some aspects of our ancient culture.

28. I am greatly obliged to my friend, Mr. K. Narayana Pisharoti, B.A., an artist of great promise, for the pen and ink sketches of the theatre and its various parts which are published here, as plates III to VII. Similarly, I also express my obligation to Mr. Subramaniam for photographing them.



# Vedānta on Freedom and Moral Responsibility

BY

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(Annamalai University)

(Continued from page 27, Vol. III. No. I)

The difficulties of working out a conception of freedom that would dispose of objections and misunderstandings are enormous. A final solution to the problem of free-will and responsibility—a problem which has been the battleground of philosophers and theologians—is, in the nature of the case, not to be met with in any one system of thought. Ramanuja's solution of this vexed problem may or may not be perfect ; but it gets as near a satisfactory answer as is possible. His reconciliation of free-will and determination as set forth in the Śrī Bhāṣya is explained lucidly and at length in the Śruta Prakāśikā.

Is the activity of the individual soul independent or does it depend on the highest Lord ? The *prima facie* view is that self is completely free and independent of Brahman. Otherwise, the entire body of vedic injunctions and prohibitions would be meaningless. For, commands can only be addressed to such agents as are capable of entering on action or refraining therefrom according to their own thought and will.<sup>1</sup> Moral judgment in the absence of freedom is the hollowest of mockeries. The sūtra, *parāttu tat śruteḥ*, sets aside this *prima facie* view and establishes on the strength of scriptural authority that the activity of the jiva proceeds from the highest self as its cause. The following passages from the Upaniṣads and Bhagavat Gita declare that God is the ultimate source of all action. 'Entered within, the ruler of creatures, the Self of all', 'who dwelling in the self is different from the self, whom the self does not know, whose body the self is, who rules the self from within, He is thy self, the inward ruler, immortal one' (Brih. V. 7. 26); 'I dwell within the heart of all ; memory and knowledge as well as their loss come from me' (Bh. Gita XV, 15) ; 'The Lord, O Arjuna, dwells in the heart of all creatures, whirling by His mysterious power, all creatures, as if mounted on a machine.' (Bh. Gita XV, 61.)

1. Svabudhyā pravṛttinivṛttyārambhaśaktāḥ sa eva niyojyo bhavati. Śrī Bhāṣya, II, iii, 40.

The Sūtrakāra is aware of the difficulty that if God is made the ultimate source of all actions, scriptural injunctions and prohibitions, reward and punishment would become pointless, and proceeds to meet it in the next Sūtra. In every action, the inwardly ruling highest Self waits for the volitional effort made by the jiva and grants his permission (anumati) and thereby makes him continue in that line of action<sup>2</sup>. Thus in all first activity (prathama pravṛtti) the jiva is independent and the Lord is an indifferent onlooker (udāsina)<sup>3</sup>. The capacity for putting forth effort which is the necessary condition of moral responsibility is conceded to the jiva. Since the action primarily depends on the volitional effort of the soul, commands and prohibitions of the Veda are not robbed of their meaning. Granting consent consists in making one who has already started an activity continue that line of action. It is reasonable to ask : If the jiva is the initiator of all his activity, where is the need of the Lord's consent ? The answer is without the permission of the highest Self no subsequent action is possible.<sup>4</sup> But the old difficulty still stares us in the face. If the jiva depends on the Lord for his consent, how can he be subject to commands, kopa and prasāda ? The reply is that when a person who, after obtaining the necessary consent of another with whom he owns property jointly, gives away his share of the estate to the King, he alone reaps the consequences of this act, and not the person who gave his assent.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, though both the jiva and Brahman are involved in every act—the former by initiating the act and the latter by giving assent—the fruit of the action is reaped by the former alone. In some respects, the jiva is dependent on God. How, then, can he be said to have responsibility for his actions ? The answer is that the jiva is in part independent and hence can be subject to commands<sup>6</sup>. One may depend on others for his activity and still be subject to moral judgments. Do we not notice that in the matter of the movement of the chariot, there is dependence on others and yet subjection to command and prohibition ? With the aid of the property given away by the father to his two sons, one may develop in the direction of the good and the other in the direction of evil. Each of the sons reaps the consequences of his own deeds ; the father is in no way responsible for their

2. Sarvāsu kriyāsu puruṣeṇa kṛtam prayatnamudyogamapekṣya antaryāmī-paramātmā tadanumatidānena pravartayati. Śrī Bhāṣya.

3. Prathamappravṛttidaśāyām parasyodāsinatvam darśitam. Śru. Prakāśika.

4. Paramātmānumatimantareṇāsyā pravṛttir nopapadyate. Śrī Bhāṣya.

5. Dvayossādhāraṇe dhane parasvatvāpādanam anyatarānumatimantareṇa nopapadyate. Śrī Bhāṣya.

6. Amṣepāratantṛyādvidhiniṣedhāgocaratvamiti śaṅkā—amṣe svātanṛyādvidhiniṣedhāgocaratvopapattir iti parihāraḥ. Śru. Pra.

good or bad conduct. Similarly, while God as the universal cause of all endows each jiva with the capacity to think and act and furnishes each soul with instruments such as body, senses, etc., indispensable for action, the individual alone is responsible for any misuse of faculties ; he alone reaps the fruits of his actions. In so far as the Lord bestows on each person the capacity to act and to put forth effort and an equipment of body senses and other accessories, He is the ultimate cause of good and bad actions of men. Each individual act stands in need of God's consent and in this respect also, it is found to depend on God <sup>7</sup>. One can admit all this and still hold that the jiva is free. Freedom (svātantrya) may be said to be real if an individual, who is in a position to put forth effort in a manner prescribed by his desires, is not hampered in his choice of actions <sup>8</sup>. In all his choice, the jiva is never interfered with and herein lies his freedom.

If the Lord gives his consent to every activity initiated by the jiva, he must be a party to all actions and consequently reap their fruits. God must be an accomplice in evil doing. In everyday life we find that one who abets a crime is punished equally with the criminal. This difficulty is met by the suggestion that God is unconnected with the fruits of actions as He is not subject to śāstras <sup>9</sup>. Besides, the scripture from which our knowledge of Brahman is derived declares that He is unattached to results of deeds <sup>10</sup>.

When a man attempts to transgress the laws of morality, can God, consistently with his nature as a merciful being, give his consent to evil deeds, when he can easily prevent them ? Does it not argue that he is wholly lacking in mercy ? This difficulty is wholly groundless, for as one bound to distribute the fruits of all activities, God accords his consent ; and this permission is simply the fruit of the jiva's choice. If God wards off his creatures from evil deeds, moral responsibility and individual freedom on the part of man would be undermined. To ask why God had not prevented evil means to trifle with the conception of freedom,

7. Tadvadhihāpi sarvajivānām sāmānyena cicchaktipravṛttisaktyoḥ karaṇa-kaḷebararūpaparikaralābhasyaca paramātmādhinatvāt kartṛtvamātram parāyattam viśeṣakartṛtvamca parānumatisāpekṣāt parāyattam aṁṣe svātantryāt jivasya vidhi-  
niṣedhaviṣayatvam. Śru. Pra.

8. Svātantryamca svecchānugūṇapravṛtti sāmārthyē sati anivāryatvam. Śru. Pra.

9. Lokepyanumantuḥ phalānvayo na anumantṛtvaprayuktaḥ apitu śāstra vaśyatva prayuktaḥ. Śru. Pra.

10. Anumantuḥ parasya niyantrtvāt dharmigrāhakabādhāccha na phalānvayaḥ. Śru. Pra.

imagining that one may create free beings and at the same time determine a particular line of conduct. All man's actions would be necessarily and inevitably perfect and man would be an automaton of virtue. And that is a self-contradictory conception. Regarding the divine attribute of mercy, it is well to remember that the proper sphere of mercy is to be sought elsewhere. Mercy consists not in removing the very possibility of evil, but in excusing many faults for a single good deed however small.<sup>11</sup>

The upshot of the fore-going discussion is that the jiva enjoys partial independence, that is, in respect of his first endeavour, man remains the source and master and that God is only an onlooker. But the famous Kauṣītaki text—'He (the Lord) makes him whom he wishes to lead up from these worlds do a good deed, and the same makes him whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds do a bad deed ?'<sup>12</sup>—says in unambiguous terms that God is the real director or generator (prayojayita or kārayita) of all good and evil actions of men. These two views, however, are not inconsistent. The reconciliation of this apparent conflict is that while in general the jiva is the initiator of all deeds, in some special cases God himself induces action even at the start. In the case of persons who lead an exemplary life of virtue and who always try to act in a manner pleasing to the Lord, the highest Person wishes to do a special favour by engendering in their minds a tendency towards highly virtuous actions, which eventually lead to God-realisation. In a like-manner, in the case of persons who are determined on doing actions displeasing to the Lord, He, for the purpose of punishing them, generates in their minds a delight in such actions as tend to drag men downward and act as obstacles in the way of the attainment of the Lord.<sup>13</sup> Thus the Lord himself says, 'I am the origin of all, everything proceeds from me ; knowing this the wise worship me with love. To them ever devoted, worshipping me in love, I give that means of wisdom by which they attain to me. In mercy only to them, dwelling in their hearts, do I destroy the darkness born of ignorance with the brilliant light of knowledge'. Démoniac persons who declare that the world is without Truth,

11. Alpānukūlyena vipulāparādhasahatvāt dayādiguṇānām saviṣayatvam.  
Śru. Pra.

12. Cf. St. Paul. 'Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour ?' Rom. ix. 21. 'Therefore hath He mercy on whom He will and whom He will He hardeneth.' Rom. ix. 18.

13. Prathamapravṛttasyānumantṛtvavat atyantānukūlapratikūlayoḥ prayojayitṛtvamapi phaladānakalpam. Śru. Pra.

without a resting-place, without a Ruler are perpetually hurled by God into transmigrations <sup>14</sup>. It is interesting to note that even here, God generates such desires as are consistent with man's prior deeds. Thus, in all first endeavour, the Lord is an indifferent lookeron (upekṣaka); in regard to subsequent activity he appears as one who grants his permission (anumantā); and in exceptional cases, he is the director (prayojayita) of actions even in first effort.<sup>15</sup> The necessity of accepting these three aspects is urged by reason and supported by śruti.<sup>16</sup>

With regard to the first effort and the desire which brings it about (prāthamika iccha prayatna) is God the cause? If He is not the cause, we have to give up the doctrine that He is the universal cause.<sup>17</sup> The desire responsible for entry into good or bad deeds is the fruit of earlier deeds. If God is not connected with the desire, which is the outcome of previous deeds, we have to abandon the theory that God is the dispenser of the fruits of all deeds <sup>18</sup>. To escape this horn of the dilemma if we state that in regard to prāthamika iccha and prayatna God's will is the cause, we are presented the other horn of the dilemma, viz., that the jiva cannot be said to be free. Kartṛtva (activity) and its attendant, bhokṛtva (enjoyment) become unreal. Thus subsequent activity is the fruit of first endeavour, which in its turn, is the offshoot of desire, which again is the effect of past deeds. Then the jiva is at no time free, and God is never an upekṣaka. The distinction of three aspects—udāsīnatvam, anumantṛtvam and prayojayitṛtvam—vanishes and there is left only the aspect of prayojakatvam.

The distinction between general and special help (sādhāraṇa and viśeṣa upakāra) received by the jiva from God, when borne in mind, will help to get over all these difficulties. At the beginning, out of compassion for man, the highest Self creates several sense organs and bodies and distributes them to the different jivas. He grants them the capacity to control the senses and endows the latter with their respective powers. Since in all first effort an equipment of senses and body, etc., is presupposed, God is, in the last resort, the cause of all things. <sup>19</sup> As a con-

14. Bha. Gita. X, 8, 10-11; XVI, 8-19.

15. Evam prathamam upekṣakatvam, paścāt anumantṛtvam, kvacit viṣaye prayojakatvam ca pratipāditam. Śru. Pra.

16. Antaḥpravṛtassāstā janānām adhyakṣaśca anumantā ca.

17. Sarvakāraṇatvabaṅgaprasaṅgāt.

18. Sarvakarmaphalapradatvam ca bhagvaṇ syāt.

19. Tanmukena prāthamikecchādāvapi kāraṇatvāt na paramātmanaḥ sarvaphalapradatvahāniśca. Śru. Pra.

sequence of previous deeds (adṛṣṭavaśādeva) at each birth the jiva inherits the three guṇas in different proportions and impulses, dispositions, temper etc., covered by the general term vāsanā. For the ripening of karma, bhogādṛṣṭa brings about suitable environment. It is well known that differences in desires are brought about by differences in the guṇas. The provision of guṇas, vāsanās and environment constitutes the special help. Thus, it is only with special aids such as guṇas, vāsanās and environment along with the general aids such as body, senses, etc., that first desires arise and through them the first efforts.<sup>20</sup> Since God does nothing more at this stage there is no difficulty in regarding him as a mere onlooker in all first activity.<sup>21</sup>

The defender of determinism might still urge that when an individual is provided with all these, he cannot help acting in the way he does. His conduct, being determined both by outer conditions such as external environment, etc., and inner conditions, such as impulses, dispositions, etc., can never be said to be free. He is really a bondsman to the forces of his environment, a plaything of hereditary fixtures and bonds and environment. He is under the grip of overmastering impulses which blindly pull him along different lines. The way in which God has formed the Self must entirely account for the use or abuse of faculties given to the self. Punishment or reward would be unmeaning. In fact, all talk of moral responsibility would be idle prattle. God cannot be regarded as a mere onlooker. The reply to this argument of the determinist is that God provides an environment to enable the jiva to experience the results of its previous deeds, and not to induce him to form new desires. When a person gets a torch to help another engaged in searching for the missing pot, the light may help a third person to steal a cloth. Do we hold the person who brought the light responsible for the stealing of the cloth or for the desire to steal arising in the mind of the thief? Obviously he cannot be held responsible for either of these.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, God endows each individual with the necessary bodily apparatus and places him in a suitable environment with the sole object of enabling the jiva to eat out its karma and thereby work towards its liberation. But if the opportunity is misused God is not to blame. The

20. Guṇatrayatāratamyavāsanāviśeṣodbhavavastusva bhāvaviśeṣarūpāsādhāraṇa-kāraṇasacivaiḥ sādharmaṇakāraṇaiḥ prāthamikecchā niṣpattiḥ tata eva prayatnaḥ.

21. Viśeṣopakārābhāvāt īśvarasya audāsīnyam uktam.

22. Ghaṭanirikṣanāya pradīpamāropayan hi puruṣaḥ paṭārthipuruṣāntaraprapṛttau udāsīna eva tatra tasya pravartakatva nivartakatvayorubhayorapyabhāvāt.  
Śru Pra.

fault is entirely the jiva's. Thus God remains an onlooker in the jiva's first endeavour ; and consequently the jiva enjoys freedom.

Still, the advocates of determinism may argue that the *vāsanās* (inherited tendencies) are responsible for desires ; and the desires, for the deeds. Thus the jiva is under the sway of impulsive forces which drag him along like the flood or the violent wind.<sup>23</sup> How, then, can the individual be free ? It is essential to remember that the inherited tendencies are not the sole determinants of action. Man is at any time more than a bundle of instincts, dispositions, etc. When *vāsanās* suggest certain desires, it is still possible for man to abstain from acting in accordance with those desires. Though impelled by hunger to eat the food set before him, the hungry person promptly checks the impulse to eat the moment he knows that the food has been poisoned. Again, the wood-cutter, who is desirous of gathering firewood, when taught the means of securing a great fortune, will forthwith stop gathering wood and go in search of the treasure.<sup>24</sup> It is evident then that in spite of the existence of a desire, either consciousness of sin or knowledge of a higher goal can prevent the original desire from being fulfilled and initiate a new course of action. Herein lies the jiva's freedom. As a spiritual, moral being the jiva possesses the capacity to direct its actions to certain defined and definable ends. He has awareness of values ; he distinguishes the lower from the higher desires ; and he strives to realise his ideals in his own conduct. In each soul there are two sets of tendencies—the negative ones pointing away from undesirable actions and positive ones directed towards desirable conduct. Unlike animals which have no consciousness of sin and which are, therefore amoral, men have a more or less clear conception of the good and thereby become subject to moral censure or praise. Sin consists in performing the prohibited courses of action and in refraining from prescribed duties. A person becomes punishable precisely because he neglects to do the good and performs bad actions when he could well have conquered the desires responsible for these undesirable acts.<sup>25</sup>

23. *Pūrvavāsanātadadhīnaicchāparavaśatvāt vāyūdakādipreritasya iva na jīvasya svātantryam.*

24. *Odanecchāyām satyāmapi tasya viśasamprkṛtatvavijñāne sati tadviśayecchā-nivāraṇasāmarthyamhi cetanasya dṛśyate. Kāṣṭhanicāyakaḥ mahānidhīlābhō-pāyajñāne sati kāṣṭha sampādanecchām nivārayitum prabhavati. Śru. Pra.*

25. *Ataḥ kṛtyākaraṇākṛtyakaraṇeṣu ca icchānivāraṇakṣamopi pratya-vāyānādareṇa svecchām na nivārayati ityeṣa eva jīvasya daṇḍyatve hetuḥ. Śru. Pra.*

It is now clear that man is free in every one of his first decisions. Though dependent on God for the instruments of action and environment, though subject to the enslaving chains of *vāsanās*, habits and character, the *jiva* can still rise above these. On this basis alone can moral responsibility be vindicated and the existence of evil explained. At this stage God is *udāsina*. In subsequent activity, God, by granting his permission, makes him continue the conduct he has himself chosen. For this purpose, Lord presents favourable environmental conditions. This favour is only the fruit of the *jiva*'s initial choice. Even at this stage, the capacity to desist from action is not denied to the soul. In some cases, however, the initial choice of the *jiva* is determined by the lord. To punish the incorrigible sinner, God makes him enter on wicked courses of action by producing a desire for evil deeds. As a reward for continued good behaviour, He creates in the mind of the righteous person a taste for desirable conduct. In this aspect, God is the *prajoyayita*. *Niyamana śruti* <sup>26</sup>—vedic declaration that God is the ultimate source of all action—has to be understood in such a manner as would guarantee freedom of choice to man and vindicate the necessity of *vidhinīṣedha śāstra*.

How does Rāmānuja reconcile man's freedom with God's sovereignty? If man is free, God exercises no control over man's will and ceases, on that account, to be supreme. If God's sovereignty over the universe is real, he must influence the *jiva*'s will. This destroys man's freedom and does away with human responsibility. This dilemma is hard to meet. Man may be said to be free from the conditions that fetter his will. But by the side of God no kind of human freedom is possible. Neither man nor nature is the source of its own being. God is the Creator, and man His creature. Every one of man's actions may be eventually traced to God; so human freedom is out of the question. The familiar answer of most western philosophers is that God created man free. Unless creators are created nothing is really created. God's limitation is shown to be a self-limitation. Out of his own choice, God chooses to endow man with freedom. Ramanuja's solution of this problem is not altogether different from this. According to him God's freedom is absolute and man's freedom is limited and that the freedom of both is real. The supremacy of God is quite compatible with man's freedom. God's freedom is absolute, while man has freedom by delegation. He endows each man with the capacity to think and act and never interferes with

26 *Eṣa eva sādhu karma kārayati . . . ; antaḥpraviṣṭa śāstā janānāṃ adhyakṣaśca anumantāca . . . . .*



the jiva's activities. Far from making God's supremacy a nullity, man's freedom enhances God's overlordship.<sup>27</sup> A king's freedom does not suffer from his delegation of powers to his ministers ; the freedom of the latter, though derived from the king, is nonetheless genuine.<sup>28</sup> For, their hands are never fettered ; they are not interfered with in the exercise of their powers.

#### APPENDIX

#### SUDARŚANĀCĀRYA ON ŚĀṆKARA'S INTERPRETATION OF KARṬṚADHIKARAṆA.

Sudarśana in the Śrutaprakāśika, a famous commentary on Sri Bhāṣya, devotes a section to a critical examination of Śāṅkara's interpretation of Karṭṛadhihikaraṇa. On account of its relevance to the topic discussed in this paper a free translation of that section is here appended.

Śāṅkara holds that the sūtras ending with samādyabhāvāt establish that the soul is an agent, while the sūtra, yatācatakṣobhayatā, goes on to state that this agency of the soul is due to limiting conditions. The objections to this interpretation are.—Does the sūtra, kartā śāstrārtavātvāt, seek to establish that the agency of the soul is illusory in as much as it does not belong to its true nature, or that the agency being dependent on limiting conditions is phenomenal only ? Or, does it, without entering into this question, intend to establish only the agency of the soul ? On the first alternative, this adhikaraṇa would teach that kartṛtva is illusory as it does not belong to the essence of the soul and would thereby conflict with the next section which shows that kartṛtva is illusory as it is dependent on limiting conditions. As your view maintains that the next section is intended to assert the dependence of agency on limiting conditions, the second alternative is unacceptable as it involves needless repetition. The last alternative is likewise unacceptable as there can be no doubt to resolve which this section could have been intended. All people get the knowledge, 'I do this'. Hence it is clear that the soul, whether it be identified with the body or taken to be something different, is an agent. It cannot be pointed out that this section aims at refuting Sāṅkhya doctrine that activity belongs to prakṛti only, as you agree

27. Cit śaktim pravṛttiśaktimca datvā śaktimatve sati anivāryatvalakṣaṇam svātantryam jīvasya āpādyā prathamappravṛtttau tuṣṇim bhāvaḥ īśvarasya svātantrya vaikalyāvahaḥ kimtu tadatīśayāvaha eva. Śru. Pra.

28. Amātyasya svātantratve rājāstannāvahiyate evameva parasyāpi jīva-svātantryadāyinaḥ na svātantryam parādhīnasvarūpapracchuyataḥ bhavet. svātantrya-dāyinaḥ pumsā tatpravṛtṭyanivāraṇāt. Śru. Pra.

with that view in maintaining that activity is wrongly attributed to the soul. It is no escape to point out that this section rejects the Sāṅkya doctrine which makes prakṛti the sole agent and establishes that the soul associated with the limiting condition of buddhi is the agent.

Is the agency arising from the limiting condition of buddhi attributed to the supreme self or to the finite self ? On the former alternative, one has to accept that in regard to the creation of antaḥkarma the supreme self exercises activity without the limiting condition of buddhi. Otherwise, one has to assert that agency is derived from the limiting condition of buddhi and yet maintain that the limiting condition itself arises from agency. It cannot be said that the supreme self creates antaḥkarma with the aid of another antaḥkarma which does not perish at pralaya ; for, there is only one antaḥkarma. The latter alternative—that the jiva's agency is derived from buddhi—is untenable as, on your view, there is no distinction between the finite self and the infinite self prior to the rise of the limiting condition of buddhi. There are insuperable difficulties in the way of asserting that Brahman when associated with the limiting condition of buddhi attains at once jiva-hood and kartṛtva. If the limiting condition of buddhi were held to be without a beginning, this view would contradict scriptural passages which refer to the dissolution of mahat. If it be held to have a beginning, then the jiva too would have to be described as having an origin. And in regard to the creation of the limiting condition of buddhi, the old difficulty of circular reasoning will still remain.

The sūtra, vyapadeśāccakriyāyām, taking its stand on the scriptural passage vijñānam yajñam tanute—asserts that the soul is the agent in all activity. Having interpreted that sūtra in this manner, you cannot take the term vijñānam to denote only buddhi in the course of your commentary on the next adhikaraṇa. A way out of the difficulty will be to consider the sūtra, vyapadeśāccakriyāyām, to state the *prima facie* view ; but you have not done so. If that sūtra states the *prima facie* view, yatācataḥśobayatā must be the siddhāntasūtra. In that case, you must take them to form one adhikaraṇa and not two as you have done.

You cite the doctrine of the identity of souls with Brahman as proving that kartṛtva must be due only to limiting conditions. But it is unhelpful. For it is necessary for you to admit that in creating antaḥkarma Brahman exercises activity without the help of limiting conditions.

The sūtra, upalabhdavatanimah, is taken to meet the objection that if the soul rather than buddhi were the agent, it will engage exclusively in good deeds, by replying that just as the self perceives what is un-

pleasant as well as what is pleasant, it brings about what is desirable as well as what is undesirable. This interpretation is inappropriate. As there is no room for such an objection to arise, no reply is called for in this sūtra. Obviously in all his actions the jiva performs what he thinks desirable. But it may be asked : Are not some of his actions in reality undesirable ? How then can it be maintained that the jiva who mistakes what is undesirable as the desirable, is a real agent ? Our reply is this objection must be levelled against those who hold that the jiva is all-knowing ; and that it is altogether irrelevant is a discussion concerning the agency of the soul. No one takes the jiva immersed in saṃsāra to be omniscient. Hence, this sūtra must be taken to bring out an additional difficulty involved in denying agency to the soul.

Śaṅkara's interpretation of śaktiviparyayāt is as follows. It is said that if buddhi were the agent, it would be deprived of its power as an instrument and would appear to possess the power of an agent. And it would be necessary to posit some instrument with which buddhi could work. In that event, an entity distinct from the instrument of action is admitted to be agent and the whole dispute concerns a name only. Against this interpretation, it may be urged that buddhi can be the agent and manas can act as its instrument. From this it would not follow that the jiva is an agent. It cannot be maintained that manas and buddhi are non-different and that manas is only buddhi in one condition, because manas is the product of antaḥkāra which in its turn is a product of mahat, that is, buddhi. This view is accepted by Parāśara and others. But if buddhi were only a function of manas, these two as in the case of citta and manas, cannot be said to stand in the relation of substance and its modification. But buddhi and manas are said to be casually related. The following passage from the Gita—the earth, water, fire, wind, sky, manas, buddhi, ahamkāra, these are my eight different prakṛtis—states clearly that just as earth, water, etc., are distinct from one another, manas and buddhi also are distinct from each other.

Samādhyabhāvāt is said to teach that scriptural injunctions, such as, 'let him meditate on the Atman as Ohm', 'the Atman is to be seen, meditated upon' definitely show that the soul is an agent. The difficulty involved in the way of accepting this interpretation is that this sūtra thus interpreted, states nothing more than what is taught in kartā-śāstrārtaavatvāt. In practising meditation, the meditating entity has to realise its difference from prakṛti. From this it follows that prakṛti cannot be the agent.

Yatācatakṣobayatā has been taken to teach that kartṛtva is due to limiting conditions. Does this mean that in the state of saṃsāra activity

depends on body, senses and other instruments or does it mean that in the state of mukti, there is cessation of all activity? Since it is recognised on all hands that action depends on body, senses, etc., none is likely to maintain that it does not depend on any of these accessories. Hence on the former alternative this adhikaraṇa need not have arisen at all. On the latter alternative, the section would be guilty of contradicting the scriptural teaching. To the jiva that has realised the supreme Brahman the scriptures attribute such activities as enjoying, etc. Besides, such a jiva is said to take one or more forms according to his will. If he desires to meet his ancestors, they come to him. From such descriptions it is evident that the released soul realises all his desires with the mere aid of his will. The argument, that activity is essentially painful and that if it were natural to the jiva, the soul cannot obtain release from pain, is unsound. Assuredly activities involved in the use of sandal, garland, etc., are never painful. If it is said that activity in itself is not painful, but that it is invariably associated with pain, it must be pointed out that non-activity too is equally mixed with pain. The state of complete inactivity is known to cause pain. Failure to perform the duties prescribed in the śāstras is said to lead to hell. Hence, if non-activity were a natural quality of the soul, it can never hope to obtain freedom from pain. Besides, as whenever we know the self we realise that it is bound up with pain, in the state of mukti either the self must continue to appear in association with pain or must cease to appear. It may be said that from the scriptural teaching that the released soul is free from pain we have to infer that knowledge of the soul and experience of pain are not concomitants. Then, by parity of reasoning, we can point out, on the strength of scriptural authority, that activity and pain are not necessary concomitants. We have already pointed out that as the sūtra, vyapadeśācchakriyāyām, cannot be held to state the *prima facie* view, the expression vijñānam in vijñānam yajñam tanute, cannot denote buddhi. We have also drawn attention to the fact that the doctrine of the identity of the jiva with Brahman cannot establish the non-activity of the jiva.

Others, while taking yatācatakṣobayatā as forming a single adhikaraṇa with the preceding sūtras, think that this sūtra aims at explaining the two sets of scriptural passages which attribute activity to the jiva and deny it of him. But it is more appropriate to take it as answering the objection that if the jiva were an agent, it should be ceaselessly active, for that objection needs to be met. The first sūtra in this section has to be taken as having in view the aim of bringing out the significance of scriptural passages which deny activity to the soul. Otherwise, as the Mīmāṃsā dictum already attributed

agency to the soul, the sūtra, kartāsāstrārtavatvāt, will be pointless. Besides, on your interpretation, the sūtra yatācatakṣobayatā must explain different senses in which the two sets of passages are employed. The illustration of the carpenter, however, does not serve to reconcile the statement that the ignorant person assumes as his own the activity which properly belongs to prakṛti and others like these with passages which attribute agency to the soul. If that were so, it might as well be said that the first sūtra includes a reconciliation of the contradictory statements and this sūtra meets the objection.

# “On the Notion of Time”

BY

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The reign of relativity in the world of modern science, and the growing influence of M. Bergson's thought on philosophical speculation at the present day, focus the attention of the serious thinker on the problem of Time. The concept of space has held, in its vice-like grip, all metaphysical thought from the time of Thales to the beginning of the present century. It has pushed Time to the background, and whenever the latter notion is discussed, it is reduced to the status of a mere adjunct of space. Prof. Alexander very aptly remarks, 'If I were asked to name the most characteristic feature of the thought of the last twenty-five years, I should answer; the discovery of Time . . . . . We have only just begun in our speculations to take Time seriously and to realise that in some way or other Time is an essential ingredient in the constitution of things.'<sup>1</sup> Prof. Burtt rightly deplores the lack of a historical account of the development of the concept of Time. The present article, which is designed as the first of a series, attempts to trace the growth of the notion of Time in European thought from the age of the Ionians down to the present day. An important aim of the series is to find, if possible, the historical antecedents for the peculiar Bergsonian conception of Time.

## THE NOTION OF TIME IN ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY

### *Pre-Socratic Thinkers.*

In the nebulous philosophy of the Milesians, the problem of Time, just like so many other metaphysical problems, does not take shape at all. The naive evolutionary theory of *Anaximander* has no bearing whatsoever on the problem. It is rather disappointing to find that in the *Pythagorean system*, wherein, in spite of pre-occupation with arithmetical mysticism and religious ritualism the nature of music, rhythm, and harmony is described, there is no discussion of the concept of Time. This is due to the fact that the system is obsessed with the importance of space.

1. Alexander ; 'Spinoza and time' ; p. 1.

*Heracleitus* is considered to be the forerunner of Bergson. His doctrine of Flux is believed to contain, in a germinal form, the Bergsonian concept of time. This is not true. No doubt, he disproves the possibility of the infinite divisibility of Time into discrete moments. 'There is no moment so minute as not to contain both the old and the new caught in the act of the one becoming the other . . . . Indeed could we find an instant which was not a transition . . . we should have arrested Time and destroyed change. We should be dealing not with a transition and transformation of the old into the new, but with a mere substitution of the new for the old.'<sup>2</sup> But elsewhere *Heracleitus* says that change may bring repetition. This idea is utterly repugnant to the Bergsonian view of the flow of Time as a life process in which no repetition is ever possible. Yet *Heracleitus* was the first European thinker to recognise that Time is an essential ingredient of reality.

The *Parmenidean* denial of change reduces our consciousness of Time to an illusory experience. Commenting on the customary usages of the past and the future tenses, *Parmenides* says, that we have no right to speak of what was and what will be. What was implies the annihilation of real existence, and what will be the creation of reality out of nothing. These notions are manifestly absurd. *Zeno* in supporting the thesis of his master, makes a critical analysis of the popular notions of infinity and infinite divisibility of time. In the complex and involved idea of motion analysed by *Zeno*, there lurks an antinomy of a special type. Time (as well as space) is continuous, but when for practical purposes we make numerical manipulations with it, we split up the continuity and divide and sub-divide it. Intoxicated by the apparent success of the procedure we go to the extent of making the extremities of the divided portions real. But as a matter of fact these divisions (or moments of Time) have no reality at all. It is the interstice that is real. The absurdity of taking the static moments as real and neglecting altogether the reality of the concrete flow of Time is shown up in the classical puzzle of the race between Achilles and the tortoise. If, as Sir Oliver Lodge points out, Achilles had to halt at each *point* and perform a somersault, then he could never overtake the tortoise. But he simply runs on and overtakes the animal easily.

*Melissus* is not so consistent as his master. He affirms the reality of Time, but declares that Existence is timeless. His concept of endless duration without Time is a metaphysical puzzle.

Our analysis of the Eleatic notion of Time leads us to the conclusion that the apparent numerical discontinuity in space is responsible for the generation in our mind of a false idea of the static nature of Time. Without such an idea, spatial discontinuity cannot thrive.

### *Plato*

The first European attempt at the systematic analysis of Time is made in the two dialogues of Plato—the *Parmenides* and the *Timaeus*.

There is considerable difficulty in interpreting the abstruse dialogue ‘*Parmenides*.’ If we agree with Prof. Gunn in regarding it as the *reductio ad absurdum* of Eleaticism, then we shall miss a very important aspect of the Platonic concept of Time. Prof. Jowett, after a careful examination of the available evidence, concludes that the ‘*Parmenides*’ is not a refutation of Eleatic philosophy. Prof. Gunn has evidently in his mind the central doctrine of Plato’s Ideal Philosophy. He seems to be thinking only of the finished product and to forget the stages through which it passed. The ‘*Parmenides*’ probably represents the stage at which Plato’s mind conceived, in a very vague way no doubt, of the Hegelian synthesis of the thesis and the antithesis.

With this suggestion before us, we may proceed to analyse the concept of Time in the ‘*Parmenides*.’

‘Does the one also partake of Time?’ asks *Parmenides*, and then follows an elaborate analysis of the contradictions involved in the concept of physical (sensuous) Time. If Being is in Time, it partakes of change. Change involves a becoming from the past to the present, and from the present to the future. How can Being admit of such change? “And as Time is ever moving forward, the one becomes older than itself; and therefore younger than itself; and is older and also younger when in the process of becoming it arrives at the present; and it is always older and younger, for at any moment the one is, and therefore it becomes and is not older and younger than itself but during an equal time with itself, and is therefore contemporary with itself.”<sup>3</sup>

Striking as this analysis is, it is not here that our main interest lies, but a little further on in the course of the dialogue where Plato shatters to pieces the idea of the ‘Specious present.’ He is clearly demonstrating the impossibility of arresting the flow of Time and carving the *moment* out of it.



"And does this strange thing in which it (one) is at the time of changing really exist ?

What thing ?

The moment. For the moment seems to imply a something out of which change takes place into either of two states ; for the change is not from the state of rest as such, nor from the state of motion as such ; but there is this curious nature which we call the moment lying between rest and motion, not being in any time ; and into this and out of this what is in motion changes into rest, and what is at rest into motion."<sup>4</sup>

There is no finer analysis in Ancient philosophy than this of the distinction between Time as experienced and Time as petrified and measured for practical purposes. That the 'specious present' isolated for our purposes is not real, and that change is to be understood in a different sense becomes clear as we follow the brilliant argument of Parmenides.

It is, no doubt, difficult for us to reconcile this strange position with the central thesis of Platonic metaphysics. But if we shake off the prejudice usually entertained against this particular dialogue, and if we admit that there are portions in Plato's speculations which do not fit into his general frame-work of ideas, then we can gather from the 'Parmenides' much that is useful. Plato seems to believe that we sandwich the moment between Being and Becoming and that it is something unique and out of Time. 'For a change does not come from a state of rest, as long as a thing is still in rest, nor from the state of motion, as long as an object is still in motion. The moment rather is wedged in between motion and rest as something curious, as not belonging to Time ; into this moment and out of it what is in motion changes into rest, and what is at rest changes into motion.'<sup>5</sup>

Every careful student of the 'Parmenides' has noticed the difficulties discussed above. But we wish to go further and state that Plato, in this dialogue, sees much deeper than he is usually believed to see, and that he is aware of the nature of Time as real and continuous. Unfortunately he does not develop the strange thought that seems to have dawned on his mind.

4. Jowett, 'Dialogues of Plato' Vol : IV, p. 90.

5. Ritter, 'Essence of Plato's philosophy,' p. 268

In the 'Timaeus' Plato pursues a different line of thought. Here again we experience the difficulty of interpretation. Scholars are not agreed on the point whether we should regard the views set forth in this dialogue as belonging to Plato or to others. The main source of doubt regarding the authenticity of the opinions seems to be the fact that Plato does not use Socrates as his mouthpiece in the 'Timaeus.' But we must remember that Socrates deprecated the study of natural philosophy and that Plato could not, without doing violence to his character as an ethical teacher, transform him into an exponent of scientific doctrines.

Plato develops in this dialogue a notion of Time which is consistent with his doctrine of Ideas. He distinguishes between Eternity which is ideal and real and Time which is only a copy or image of the ideal and is sensible. Is Time real, or is it merely a subjective and illusory appearance? In attempting to answer this question Plato seems to be caught between the horns of a dilemma. Mathematical truth is timeless, and all truth which should be after the pattern of geometry should also be timeless. If from this we infer that Time is unreal, then all our experience, nay the very course of our thoughts, becomes unreal.

To probe deep into this problem we should start with Plato's conception of the origin of Time. Of the birth of Time he says, 'when the father and creator saw the creature which he had made moving and living, the created image of the eternal Gods, he rejoiced, and in his joy determined to make the copy still more like the original; and as this was eternal, he sought to make the universe eternal, so far as might be. Now the nature of the Ideal being was everlasting, but to bestow this attribute in its fulness upon a creature was impossible. Wherefore he resolved to have a moving image of eternity, and when he set in order the heaven, he made this image eternal but moving according to number, while eternity itself rests in unity; and this image we call Time.<sup>6</sup> Time is the product of creation and it is a copy of the archetype Eternity. It is therefore limited. It is marked off by the movements of bodies in space and by number. It can never be identified with Eternity. Before the creation of the heavenly bodies moving in space there was no Time. Time had a beginning and so is perishable.

'Plato's philosophy is of value in that it raises the problem of the permanent. The real is for him permanent, and so Time is contained within the absolute. The whole is timeless. He tends however, to associate Time too definitely with motion and with number, and to trans-

6. Jowett, 'Dialogues of Plato', Vol. III, p. 456.

fer timeless values and meaning out of the world of events altogether by his separation of temporal and eternal worlds.’<sup>7</sup>

### *Aristotle*

It is a significant fact that whereas the ‘*Physics*’ of Aristotle contains a full and minute analysis of Time, his ‘*Metaphysics*’ deals with the concept in a very cursory manner. There are only about six references to the idea in the latter work. The idea of Time that is discussed by the Stagirite is not the metaphysical concept, but the notion of the ordinary man. He does not dispute the *existence* of Time, but assumes such existence and proceeds to define its nature. His definition of Time is really based upon what people mean when they speak of Time. This is perhaps what we ought to expect from the philosopher for whom reality is ‘now’ and ‘here’ and is a compound of the universal and the particular.

In his characteristic way Aristotle begins the discussion of Time by stating the views held by his predecessors. “Wherein we shall mention the doubts raised by the dialecticians as to the existence of Time . . . . . The views held by the ancients with regard to Time are two . . . . First, the view of him who believes that Time is the motion of the universe, i.e., the rotation of the whole heaven. Second, the view of him who believes that we are all in Time and that all things are in the sphere.” (*Intermediate Physics*, IV, III, I and 3).

It is only with a certain degree of probability that we can assign these views to particular philosophers or schools of philosophy in the pre-Aristotelian period. The first view is a modified form of the Platonic concept of Time, and the second may be attributed to some of the minor Pythagoreans.

In his ‘*Physics*’ IV, II, 219 b, 1 and 2, Aristotle gives us his definition of Time. ‘For Time is this, the number of motion according to prior and posterior.’ Maimonides in translating Aristotle’s definition gives us the following renderings: ‘Time is the measure of motion according to prior and posterior in motion.’ From a clear headed logical thinker of the type of Aristotle we should naturally expect a definition free from ambiguity. Unfortunately the differentia in the above definition is defective, in that it is too wide and applies to space as well as to Time. Aristotle was aware of this ambiguity, for in ‘*Physics*’ IV, II, 219 a 14-19,

7. Gunn, ‘The problem of Time’, p. 22.

he shows that whereas the prior and the posterior in space are co-existent, in Time they are successive. Attempts were therefore made by the commentators on Aristotle's works to improve the definition by certain qualifying expressions. Of these attempts we may note the following :

'It is evident that the definition of Time agreed upon is that it is the number of motion according to prior and posterior *in its parts*.'

'..... that Time is the measure of motion according to the priority and posteriority *that are not conjoined*.'

'Aristotle has defined Time as the number of motion according to the prior and posterior *in motion*.'

The introduction of the italicised phrases does, to a certain extent, clear Aristotle's definition of its ambiguity.

Time, according to Aristotle, cannot be conceived as substance, for parts of it existed once and exist no longer, and other parts which are now non-existent will come into existence hereafter. That which is composed of non-existent parts cannot share the nature of substance. If Time is not substance, then it must be an accident; and as accident it must exist in something other than itself. This something is motion. But Time is not to be identified with motion. '...Every change is swift or slow, but in Time there is no swiftness or slowness. Now, the swiftness and slowness of motion are defined by Time, for we say the swift is that which traverses a certain distance in a short Time, and the slow is that which traverses the same distance in a longer Time. Consequently, if Time were identical with motion, the term motion would be included in the definition of swift and slow motion ..... But while we say that a certain motion takes place in a long time or in a short time, we do not say that motion takes place in motion.'<sup>8</sup> (Intermediate Physics, IV, III, I).

Time, therefore, is not motion. Movement is in an object and varies in velocity; while Time is not resident in any object and is constant in its flow.

What then is the relationship between Time and motion? Time is an attribute of motion. Though it is not motion, yet it is not *without*

motion, for when we become unconscious of motion, we become unconscious of Time also.

We may point out here that the Stagirite's description of Time as solely dependent on our perception of external movement is without justification. A thinking mind from whom all perception of external change is cut off would still experience Time through the duration of its own thoughts. Time is, no doubt, measured by motion, but is not generated by motion.

Aristotle draws a distinction between the psychological percept and the concept of Time. The percept of Time is based on, and is impossible without, the percept of motion. By comparing the various percepts of Time with one another and with the analogical percepts of space, we get the notions of 'now,' and 'before,' and 'after.' The contemplation of the number of motion leads us to the concept of Time. 'In one respect Time is in the soul, but in another respect it is outside the soul. In so far as it is number, it is in the soul . . . . . But motion itself is outside the soul. Similarly, if you only think of Time as a concept, it is in the soul, but its matter is outside the soul.'

If Time is neither substance nor motion, but only a property of the latter, what then is the nature of that property whose understanding will enable us to grasp the essence of Time? The connection between Time and motion is to be established through the motions of 'prior' and 'posterior.' Time is the prior and the posterior of motion. When a body moves, the place that it has just left has already become an *old* place, and the place that it will move into is *new*. *Past* is that which the body has left behind and the *future* is that which lies before it.

Aristotle holds that Time is infinite and also infinitely divisible. If it were not infinite, it should have had a beginning and should, in consequence, perish. Such a contingency is unthinkable. The argument to prove that Time is infinitely divisible is very ingenious.

It may be expressed in the following mathematical form : consider two bodies A and B starting at the same instant from O and travelling in the same direction along OX with velocities  $v_1$  and  $v_2$  respectively.

Let  $v_1 > v_2$ ,  $OX = s_1$  and let the time be measured from the instant the particles start from O. Let the time taken by A to travel the distance  $s$  be  $t_1$ .

$$t_1 = \frac{s}{v_1} \quad \dots (a)$$

The distance travelled by B in this interval is given by

$$s_1 = \frac{s}{v_1} \cdot v_2 \quad \dots (a^1)$$

The time taken by A to travel the distance  $s_1$  is given by

$$t_2 = \frac{s_1}{v_1} = \frac{s}{v_1} \cdot \frac{v_2}{v_1} = \frac{v_2}{v_1} \cdot t_1 \quad \dots (b)$$

The distance travelled by B during the interval  $t_2$  is given by

$$s_2 = t_2 \cdot v_2 = s \cdot \frac{v_2^2}{v_1^2} \quad (b^1)$$

$t_1, t_2$  etc., refer to intervals which are successively getting smaller and smaller as they refer to smaller and smaller distances covered by B.

The successive intervals are given by

$$t_1; \left( \frac{v_1}{v_2} \right) \cdot t_1; \left( \frac{v_2}{v_1} \right)^2 \cdot t_1 \cdot \dots \dots \dots$$

and since  $\frac{v_2}{v_1} < 1$ , they form a convergent series, the magnitude of the intervals getting closer to zero as the order of the term increases, but never reaching zero.

Hence the number of intervals into which any time  $t$  can be divided is infinite.

Would Time exist in the absence of a perceiving soul? This is a very important question, on which, judging from the attitude that Aristotle has taken towards the perception of Time and motion, we should expect a definite pronouncement from him. But there is no clear answer forthcoming. If there were no souls, there would still be motion, the substratum of Time, but the measurable aspect of that motion will cease to have any significance.

*(To be continued.)*

# Nature Poetry in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamsa

By

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(Continued from Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 11—17.)

The pictorial value of Kālidāsa's nature similes is one of those features of his poetry which lift him above his compeers and place him apart as a class by himself. The fearful and heart-shaking aspects of thunder and lightning are dwelt upon by many a western writer. Shakespeare emphasizes the momentary character of lightning when he writes

Brief as the lightning in the collied night,  
That in a spleen unfolds both heaven and earth,  
And ere a man hath power to say, 'behold !'  
The jaws of darkness do devour it up.

The poet's eye sees the vast masses of dark clouds, the fierce, bright streak of light which cuts through them suddenly and which is as suddenly swallowed up again in 'the collied night.' But Kālidāsa alone sees the many sided radiance and dazzling beauty of tropical lightning ; by a lightning stroke of genius he uses it to impress on our minds the instantaneous and marvellous effect produced on the throng of princes assembled for Indumati's marriage, by the sight of Aja enthroned in the hall. 'Like a flash of lightning which distributes itself among rows of clouds, Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, manifested, in those rows of princes, her form too dazzling to be looked at, because of the peculiar radiance thrown out in innumerable streaks. The form of the goddess of wealth—of wealth, health and wisdom—appears to me to be symbolic of Aja.<sup>2</sup> When the vast blue tropical sky is thickly covered with masses of dark clouds one sees

1. Tāsu śriyā rājaparamparāsu prabhāviśeshōdaya-durnirikshyah |  
Śahasradhātṃā vyarucadvibhaktah payōmucām pāñktishu vidyutēva. ||.

R. VI|5.

2. Especially since masculine forms are used. In fact the whole passage Canto. VI|1 to 7 describes Aja's entrance and the effect on the princes.

the quick lightning flashing with unexampled brilliancy and trans-fusing—momentarily—the sombre hues of the clouds with vivid brightness. There seems to be a sudden change, a sudden movement, an unexpected revelation of strange possibilities in the clouds whose darkness appears to be deepened by contrast. So was the mass of princes darkened, thrown into the shade, agitated and roused by the entry of Aja who was handsome as the newly reborn Kāma, agile as a lion-cub, warlike and commanding as the God of War and who from the moment of his entry drew all eyes on himself. The Vedas tell the heroic story of Indra's fight with the dark demons by the power of his lightning and of the flight of the hosts of evil. This significant simile from nature not only secures a vivid pictorial effect but also adds to it the flavour of a mythological suggestion and opens up before us a vista at the end of which we see Aja's victory over the princes who in jealousy attacked him on his way back to Ayodhya.

The same pictorial quality shot through and through with graceful suggestiveness is to be seen when Kālidāsa says that the maid<sup>3</sup> led Indumati to another prince as, in the Mānasa lake, the wavelet roused by the breeze takes the swan to another lotus. As the swan moves gracefully among the multitudes of lotuses in the purest among Himalayan lakes, so walks in beauty Indumati among the assembled princes. The sweet breeze in the Mānasa wakes the rippling wave on which the swan gently floats forward; so does the princess's unexpressed desire to move forward induce the mace-bearer to lead her forward. Again the great poet likens Kausalya with Rama by her side, to the Ganges in autumn with the oblation of lotuses on the sand bank.<sup>4</sup> The vivid picture of the attenuated Ganges when her waters are low, with the handfuls of lotuses on the gray banks of sand dotting the river, presents clearly before us the graceful queen with the charming Rama by her side.

Very often, however, Kālidāsa introduces a nature simile to give concreteness and reality to an abstract thought or idea. Dasaratha was about to die and the country was on the threshold of a new era of unsurpassed greatness and glory. Kālidāsa brings out this idea by comparing the dying Dasaratha to an expiring flame, flickering before its end at dawn.<sup>5</sup> The sudden gleam of brightness which precedes extinc-

3. Tām saiva vētragrahane, niyuktā rājāntaram rājasutām nināya |  
Samīraṇōthēva tarangalēkhā padmāntaram mānasarājakanyām || R. VI. | 26.
4. Śayyāgatēna rāmēna mātā Śātodari babhau |  
Saikatāmbhōja balinā jānhavīva śaratkrīṣa || R. X | 69.
5. Nirvishtavishayasnēhah sa daśāntam upeyivān |  
Asīdāsannanīrvānāh pradīpārcirivōshasi || R. XII. | 1.



tion is seen in the flame as in the king. Through the long night which preceded the birth of Rama, Dasaratha served as a valuable light to guide the steps of his subjects. But the days of his usefulness are over as Rama has become capable of ruling them. Of what use is the lamp when the dawn has come ? Not only is the glory of Rama's reign hinted at but the possibility of one small flash of worldliness in Dasaratha before his death, is left to be guessed, by the suggestive use of epithets. If the highest distinction of poetic language is the utmost possible wealth of suggestion this simile must be deemed to be steeped in the true gold of poetry.<sup>6</sup>

It is, however, not merely in such isolated splendours that Kālidāsa's love of nature displays itself. Many a time nature serves him as a befitting back ground for the great and glorious deeds he celebrates. When the great king, Dilīpa, left for the forest with his queen to perform penance so that a son and heir might be born to him the poet describes the progress of the royal pair through the country-side where everywhere they were greeted by young and old with love and honour. As the royal carriage rolled past with its deep, melodious sound, cool<sup>7</sup> and pleasant breezes laden with pollen swayed the woodlands and fanned their cheeks ; they drank in<sup>8</sup> the ravishing notes of the cuckoo and the peacock ; they found<sup>9</sup> the mobility of their own eyes reflected in those of the couples of deer which stood looking at them a few paces away from the road ; in some places<sup>10</sup> they raised up their heads to look at the sweet throated cranes singing, and flying in a row looking like a garland on a temporary arch without any support ; the wind<sup>11</sup> being favourable the dust of the chariot wheels flew away from them ; in the lotus tanks<sup>12</sup> cool and fragrant breezes welcomed them. When with tired horses they reached Vasishtha's hermitage in the evening they saw the place<sup>13</sup> crowded

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| 6. Cf. Lascelles Abercrombie—Literary Criticism.   | pp. 40-41. |
| 7. Sēvyamānau sukhasparsaih śālaniryāsagandhibhih  <br>Pushparēnūtkiraih vātaih ādhūtavanarājibhih       | R. I 38.   |
| 8. Manōbhirāmāh sṛṇvantau rathanēmīswanōnmukhaih  <br>Shadjasamvādinīh kēkāh dwidhā bhinnāh śikhandibhih | R. I 39.   |
| 9. Parasparākshisādrśyam adūrōñjhitavartmasu  <br>Mṛgadvandvēshu paśyantah syandanābāddhadṛśtishu        | R. I 40.   |
| 10. Srēṇibandhadvitanvadhīrastambhām tōranasrajam  <br>Sārasaih kalanirhrādaiḥ Kvacidunnamitananau       | R. I 41.   |
| 11. Pavanasyānukūlatvātpṛārthana siddhisamsinah  <br>Rajōbhistūragōtkīrṇairasprśhtālakavēśhtanau         | R. I 42.   |
| 12. Sarasishvaravindānām vicivikshōbhāśītalām  <br>Āmōdamupajighrantau svaniśvāsānukārinām               | R. I 43.   |
| 13. Vanāntarādupavrittaiḥ samitkuśaphalāharaiḥ  <br>Pūryamānamadrśyāgnipratyudyātaistapasvibhih          | R. I 49.   |

with hermits returning from neighbouring forests with sacrificial wood, *Kuṣa* grass and fruits. The sacrificial fires seemed to welcome them back. The forest deer<sup>14</sup> which used to be fed by the womenfolk with rice were crowding the entrances. The hermit maidens<sup>15</sup> were watering the saplings while the birds were drinking from the basins under the trees. In the courtyards<sup>16</sup> of the hermit huts the deer lay chewing the cud, on the corn heaped after sunset. The smoke<sup>17</sup> issuing from the rekindled sacrificial fires was redolent of sacrificial things and seemed to purify the newcomers.

In the next Canto<sup>18</sup> Kālidāsa describes the forest wherein Dilipa was to attend on the sage's sacred cow. When the king entered, the forest birds were singing on the boughs, the light breeze, swaying the creepers, strewed flowers on his path, the wide-eyed does stood looking at him, sweet sounds were to be heard of the wind playing among the bamboos and he felt the cool and fragrant breeze laden with the moisture of the mountain rills and the sweet scents of the flowers. The poet says that even the forest seemed to recognise the good and mighty king and welcome him with acclamations and music, with flowers and scents. Not only that, the forest-fires subsided even without any shower, fruits and flowers came forth in unparalleled abundance, the strong did not oppress the weak when the king entered the forest.

Let us pause for a moment and consider these three descriptions—of Dilipa's journey, of the hermitage and of the Himalayan forest. The first reveals fully the poet's susceptibility to the sights and sounds and sensations of nature. The picture of the quiet countryside with the simple curdsellers and loyal wayfarers, the wild scenery, the pleasant—cool and fragrant—breezes, the ravishing notes of cuckoo and peacock and the beauties of shy antelopes and tanks of flowering lotuses and the pendant garland of white cranes moving unsupported in the sky bears the genuine stamp of personal experience and of unbounded love of nature though its beauty is subdued to the needs of the occasion and of the context. The poet keeps a just proportion between our interest in the royal pair and our attraction for the country by

14. Akīrnamṛshipatnīnām utajadvāraro dhibhiḥ |  
Apatyairiva nīvarabhāgad hēyōcitair mṛgaiḥ || R. I|50.
15. Sēkānte munikanyābhīstatkṣaṇōñjhitavṛkḥakam |  
Viśvāsāya vihamgānāmāvalambupayinām || R. I|51.
16. Ātapātyayasamkshiptanīvārāsu nishādibhiḥ |  
Mrgairvartita romantham utajāñgaṇabhūmishu || R. I|52.
17. Abhyuthitagnipīśunairatithināśramōnmukhān |  
Punānam pavanōddhutairdhūmairāhutigandhibhiḥ || R. I|53.
18. Canto II. Verses 9 to 14.

making us identify ourselves with Dilipa and Sudakshina. The love that the harmonised man has for bird and beast and tree is found in the description of the ascetic arcadia where love and service are the only pre-occupation of man, maid and mistress. In fact the poet draws no distinction between man and the creatures around him and a ray of purifying light, a flowering creeper, a warbling bird, a cooing bamboo has as much individuality in his eyes as the most opinionated of Eve's progeny. This explains his description of Dilipa's reception in the forest as if it were in very fact a triumphal progress through the crowded streets of a city. The sounds of birds, the scattered flowers, the whistling of the bamboo and the wide-eyed doe looking at the king remind the courtier of 'huzzas' that greet the conquering hero, the songs and music, the flowers and scents offered to him and the crowds of city beauties devouring him with open eyes. Tumult and disorder disappeared at his approach in town as well as forest, so that the lion lay with the lamb and there was peace and plenty everywhere. Though poetic idealism and courtierly habits have pointed towards exaggeration here, the undercurrent of true experience is not far to seek.

Describing the conquering march of Raghu through India the poet refers to the eastern coast darkened by palms,<sup>19</sup> the betels and cocoanut-wines of Kalinga,<sup>20</sup> the arecanut groves of the Coromandel Coast<sup>21</sup> and of the vales of the Malaya (southern part of the Western Ghats) filled with the voice of wild parrots in the forests of pepper and the fragrance of cardamoms crushed under the feet of his cavalry.<sup>22</sup> The sandals of Mysore<sup>23</sup> and the pearls of the Pandyas<sup>24</sup> come in for note while the *Muralas* and *Ketakas* of Malabar<sup>25</sup> yield their tribute to the invader. The roar of the wind among the palm leaves is drowned by the clanking of armour.<sup>26</sup> The scent of the *punnāga* flowers does not escape the attention of the poet who compares it to the ichor of the elephant.<sup>27</sup> In the <sup>28</sup>Himālayas he notes the bamboos, birches and deodars and dwells upon the abundance of the fabled minerals and lustrous herbs. It is evident that in this case he selects for mention that significant detail which will appeal to his listeners whether it is through their own experience or through their stock of current beliefs and superstitions. Nothing but personal experience can give even the faintest idea of the noise of the

19. Prāpa tālivanāśyāmamupakaṇṭam mahōdadhēh ||

R. IV|34.

20. R IV|42.

25. R IV|55.

21. R IV|44.

26. R IV|56.

22. R IV|46, 47.

27. R IV|57.

23. R IV|48.

28. R IV|71 to 76.

24. R IV|50.

wind among the broad-leaved palms, a sound akin to the roar of the sea or the coming on of wind and rain.

The Himālayan region seems to have captured his heart and he is never tired of describing the cool, sweet breezes carrying the spray of the Ganges, rustling the birch leaves and making the bamboos play the reed-pipe.<sup>29</sup> He betrays the same love for the Himālayan region in his description of the mountain-cave which Surabhi entered,<sup>30</sup> with the tender grass carpeting the ground, by the side of the leaping Ganges. The poet's attention as much as that of the king is taken up by the splendour of the king of mountains<sup>31</sup> and when it is jerked back to the sacred cow he sees her as a red peak of the Himālayas<sup>32</sup> on which the *lodhra* is in bloom.

It is remarkable how he conveys to us not merely visual impressions but also memories of melodious sounds, sweet smells and pleasant touches. He attacks our heart at all points leaving not a lock unpicked in all the five gates of our senses. The same unforced delight in nature is found in the description of Aja's camp in the Narmada when he went to win Indumati.<sup>33</sup> The graceful boughs of the bilva (*Naktamāla*) swaying in the moist evening breeze remind him of the skilful movements of graceful dancers guided by ardent dance-masters.

Few have realised the beauty of the Indian forest as fully as this prince of Sanskrit poets. Peace and quietness, truth and simplicity dwell there. The forest presents to the soldier and the statesman a happy escape from the troubles and turmoils of the dusty world. Variegated life and virgin beauty lie enshrined in the depths of the forest. The very air of the forest is pure and untainted, fresh and fragrant, cool and pleasing.

Embowered in these primaeval forests lay the hermitages of the great sages, Vasishta, Varatantu, Viswamitra, Vālmiki, Agastya, Atri and many others. King Raghu in questioning Kautsa, the disciple of Varatantu describes the simple occupations and sylvan charm of the hermit life.<sup>34</sup> The even tenor of their existence is marked by learning and by the three-fold penance, by ablutions to the *ṛshis* and by offerings to the *pitṛs*. Their sustenance is derived from the wild rice growing about and even from these they set apart portions for king and guest. They love, like their own offspring, the hermitage-trees and protect the young ones of the does from the prowling wild animals. Thus, far from the

29. R II|9 to 14.

30. R II|26.

31. R II|27.

32. R II|28.

33. R V|42.

34. R V|4 to 9.

bustle and hurry of life, they devote themselves to learning and religion and inculcate them to their pupils as the sun disseminates life in the world by his warm rays. The hermitage of Viswamitra<sup>35</sup> to which the young princes, Rama and Lakshmana, go, is similarly an abode of peaceful learning, with its numerous scholars, loving deer and the sage himself intent on the performance of due Vedic rites. The holy abode of Agastya<sup>36</sup> is the seat of sacredness and Sri Rama himself feels purified by breathing in the fumes of his sacrificial fires. The hospitable hermitage of Śarabhanga<sup>37</sup> is extremely sanctifying and when the sage offered up his purified body to the flames he left the duties of hospitality to the trees of his penance-grove whom he looked upon as his sons. The abode of Atri<sup>38</sup> reveals the great powers of the sage: without any fear the animals are restrained and the fruits come forth without the appearance of flowers. The holy Ganges flows through it and even the trees standing motionless seem to meditate along with the sages who sit in samādhi on the *Vēdis*.<sup>39</sup> The famous *syāma*<sup>40</sup> grows there which in fruit looks like a heap of emeralds intermixed with rubies. The peaceful hermitage of Vālmiki<sup>41</sup> receives the exiled Sita and nurses her twins Lava and Kusa. The great poet and sage welcomes Sita and consoles her sketching for her the pure life in the hermitage. Here it was that the sight of the Krauñca's grief moved the sage to poetry. By contact with the ascetics the animals are well-restrained. The hermit maids are sweet-tongued and the place is rich in flowers, fruits and grains. Sita could find gentle and pleasing occupation in watering the young trees. Their beds of skin and their huts of grass lighted by *Ingudi* lamps show a simplicity which is further enhanced by their garments of bark and their plain fare of fruits and roots. Simple and pure the women bathed in the sacred river and welcomed the guests and assisted the ascetics. Here Satrugna<sup>42</sup> stays a night on his way to fight Lavana and passing by it on his way back, sees the deer standing motionless to hear the enthralling songs of Sita's sons. Even in the degenerate days of the Raghus Sudarsana forsakes the pleasures of his kingdom and goes to the Naimisa<sup>43</sup> forest exchanging the hut for his palace, the *Kusa* grass for his soft beds and the holy waters for his pleasure ponds.

(To be continued)

35. R XI|23.

36. R XIII|36, 37.

37. R XIII|46.

38. R XIII|50 to 52.

39. Raised platforms round trees.

40. A Banyan tree.

41. R XIV|75 to 82.

42. R XV|11, 37.

43. R XIX|1, 2.

# On a representation of the Coefficients of Correlation, by the constants of a Spherical Triangle

BY

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1. The striking correspondence between the relations among the correlation coefficients of  $n$  variables and the relations among the "edges" and "angles" of spheropolyhedra in hyperspace was noted by Karl Pearson in 1916. In fact, he observes<sup>1</sup> :

"It is greatly to be desired that the trigonometry of higher dimensional plane space should be fully worked out; for all our relations between multiple correlation and partial correlation coefficients of  $n$  variates are properties of the "angles," "edges" and "perpendiculars" of spheropolyhedra in multiple space."

As the trigonometry of triangles on a three dimensional sphere is completely worked out, it was easy for R. W. Burgess to represent the three total correlations, in the case of three variables, by the cosines of the sides of a spherical triangle. "This assumes, to be sure, that certain limitations in values possible exist, but it can be shown that all such limitations necessarily hold for three such correlation coefficients."<sup>2</sup> But, as it is found that a regular proof of the uniqueness of the representation is necessary in connection with certain further investigations on the subject, we have given it in the form of a theorem.

2. Theorem.—*In the case of three variables  $x_1, x_2, x_3$  there exists an one to one correspondence between the total correlations and the cosines of the sides of a spherical triangle.\**

As the correlations lie between  $-1$  and  $+1$ , they can be uniquely represented by  $\cos a, \cos b, \cos c$  where  $a, b, c$ , are angles between  $0$  and  $\pi$ .

1. Karl Pearson : *Biometrika*, Vol. II, (1916), p. 237.

2. R. W. Burgess : *Introduction to the Mathematics of Statistics*, p. 276.

\* Throughout this discussion, it is tacitly assumed that each of the sides and angles of the triangle is less than  $\pi$ .

In order that a spherical triangle should exist with sides  $a, b, c$ , it is enough if it is shown that the angles  $A, B, C$  are real.

$$\text{But } \sin A = \frac{\sqrt{1 - \cos^2 a - \cos^2 b - \cos^2 c + 2 \cos a \cos b \cos c}}{\sin b \sin c} = \frac{\sqrt{\Sigma}}{\sin b \sin c}$$

and  $\sin B$  and  $\sin C$  are equal to similar expressions.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Further } (\sin^2 b \sin^2 c - \Sigma) &= (1 - \cos^2 b)(1 - \cos^2 c) - \Sigma \\ &= (\cos b \cos c - \cos a)^2 \end{aligned}$$

which is always positive.

Hence  $\Sigma$  is less than  $\sin^2 b \sin^2 c$  and similarly it can be proved that  $\Sigma$  is less than  $\sin^2 c \sin^2 a$  and  $\sin^2 a \sin^2 b$  also.

So, for  $A, B, C$  to be real it is necessary and sufficient that  $\Sigma$  should be positive.

Expressing this condition in terms of the correlation coefficients, we get

$$1 - r_{23}^2 - r_{31}^2 - r_{12}^2 + 2r_{23}r_{31}r_{12} > 0 \quad (1)$$

which is always true in the case of any three consistent correlations.

Conversely, given any spherical triangle, the cosines of its sides give a set of possible and consistent values for the total correlations.

3. In the triangle  $ABC$  let  $\theta, \varphi, \psi$  measure the perpendiculars from  $A, B, C$  on the opposite sides ; and let

$$\cos a = r_{23}, \quad \cos b = r_{31}, \quad \cos c = r_{12}$$

Then, it has been proved<sup>(3)</sup> that

$$\left. \begin{aligned} \cos A &= r_{23.1} \\ \cos B &= r_{31.2} \\ \cos C &= r_{12.3} \end{aligned} \right\} \begin{aligned} \cos \theta &= R_{1.23} \\ \cos \varphi &= R_{2.31} \\ \cos \psi &= R_{3.12} \end{aligned} \quad (2)$$

Further we have

$$\left(1 - R_{1.23}^2\right) = \left(1 - r_{12}^2\right) \left(1 - r_{13.2}^2\right) \quad (3)$$

which reduces to

$$\left(1 - R_{1.2}^2\right) = \left(1 - r_{12}^2\right) \quad (4)$$

when the variable  $X_3$  is dropped out; a familiar result for, it merely states that, the coefficient of correlation between  $X_1$  and the best estimate of  $X_1$  from  $X_2$  (viz.  $b_{12}X_2$ ) is the same as the coefficient of correlation between  $X_1$  and  $X_2$ . This is as it should be, for the correlation between  $x$  and  $y$  is the same as the correlation between  $x$  and  $ky$  where  $k$  is a constant.

Further as  $r_{12} = r_{21}$  etc. we get

$$\left. \begin{aligned} R_{1.2} &= r_{12} = R_{2.1} \\ R_{2.3} &= r_{23} = R_{3.2} \\ R_{3.1} &= r_{31} = R_{1.3} \end{aligned} \right\} \quad (5)$$

Considering the polar triangle, it is found that the cosines of the sides give the three partial correlations and the cosines of its angles the three total correlations, all with their signs changed.

4. Now the results obtained in the paper by Messrs. S. Subramanyam and S. Venkatachari<sup>4</sup> can be interpreted as follows.

(a) In any spherical triangle we have

$$\cos a \cos b \cos c > \cos A \cos B \cos C \quad (6)$$

(b) Given that  $\cos^2 b + \cos^2 c \nless 1$ , if the great circle with a pole at the vertex  $A$  be drawn, the side  $BC$  is greater than  $\pi/2$  or not, according as it cuts or does not cut the great circle.

The similar result obtained there for the partial correlations, when looked at from the point of view of spherical trigonometry gives the property (6) as applied to the polar triangle.



And this also explains, incidentally, the complementary nature observed there between a total and the corresponding partial correlation.

5. By virtue of the theorem of §2, certain properties of the spherical triangle can be interpreted in terms of correlations.

Let us for convenience, denote the left-hand side of (1) by E, and the corresponding expression for the partial correlations by E'.

(a) It is known that

$$\frac{\sin a}{\sin A} = \frac{\sin b}{\sin B} = \frac{\sin c}{\sin C} = \sqrt{\frac{1 - \cos a \cos b \cos c}{1 + \cos A \cos B \cos C}} \quad (7)$$

which transforms into the relations.

$$\frac{1 - r_{23}^2}{1 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2} = \frac{1 - r_{31}^2}{1 - r_{31 \cdot 2}^2} = \frac{1 - r_{12}^2}{1 - r_{12 \cdot 3}^2} = \frac{1 - r_{12} r_{13} r_{23}}{1 + r_{12 \cdot 3} r_{13 \cdot 2} r_{23 \cdot 1}} \quad (8)$$

Now suppose  $r_{23} = \pm r_{23 \cdot 1}$

Then we have  $r_{31} = \pm r_{31 \cdot 2}$

and  $r_{12} = \pm r_{12 \cdot 3}$

as possible values for the total correlations.

$$\text{Also } r_{12} r_{13} r_{23} + r_{12 \cdot 3} r_{13 \cdot 2} r_{23 \cdot 1} = 0 \quad (9)$$

But all these signs are not arbitrary. If the signs of any two of them are specified, then the sign of the third is definite; for, in virtue of the relation (9), we should choose that sign which, when multiplied out by the signs of the two others, gives a negative sign.

Further, as it is known<sup>5</sup> that

$$r_{12} r_{13} r_{23} > r_{12 \cdot 3} r_{13 \cdot 2} r_{23 \cdot 1}$$

the relation (9) asserts that, if only it is known that any total correlation is equal to the corresponding partial correlation, irrespective

of sign, we have  $r_{12} r_{13} r_{23}$  positive and  $r_{12 \cdot 3} r_{13 \cdot 2} r_{23 \cdot 1}$  negative and that they are equal in magnitude.

(b) It is known that the product of the sine of a side and the sine of the corresponding altitude is a constant. Also the product of the sine of an angle and the sine of the corresponding altitude is a constant.

These properties transform into

$$\left(1 - r_{23}^2\right) \left(1 - R_{1 \cdot 23}^2\right) = \text{const} = E \quad (10)$$

$$\text{and } \left(1 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2\right) \left(1 - R_{1 \cdot 23}^2\right) = \text{const} = E' \quad (11)$$

The results (11) can also be derived from (8) and (10) as

$$\left(1 - r_{23}^2\right) \text{ and } \left(1 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2\right) \text{ are proportionals.}$$

(c) If D is the foot of the perpendicular from A on BC, we have, from the triangle ACD,

$$\sin^2 C = \frac{\sin^2 \theta}{\sin^2 b}.$$

which transforms into

$$1 - r_{12 \cdot 3}^2 = \frac{1 - R_{1 \cdot 23}^2}{1 - r_{13}^2} = \frac{1 - R_{1 \cdot 23}^2}{1 - R_{1 \cdot 3}^2} \quad (12)$$

by virtue of relations (5).

The results (12) can also be directly obtained from

$$1 - r_{12 \cdot 34 \dots n}^2 = \frac{1 - R_{1 \cdot 234 \dots n}^2}{1 - R_{1 \cdot 34 \dots n}^2}$$

given by H. L. Rietz<sup>6</sup> by omitting the suffixes 4, 5, . . .  $n$  throughout.

6. H. L. Rietz: *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society* (1924) p. 436.

# On a Cubic Transformation in Circle-Geometry<sup>1</sup>

By

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1. Let  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  be four non-cyclic points in the complex plane. Taking any arbitrary point  $P$ , let the circles circumscribing  $PA_0A_1$ , and  $PA_2 A_3$  respectively, meet again at  $P_1$ . This construction appears often in problems on circles, but still the involuntary transformation  $T_1$ , which carries  $P$  to  $P_1$ , does not seem to have been studied, although Dr. Coolidge obtains the locus of a point  $P$  which coincides with its mate in the above involution.<sup>2</sup> The object of this paper is to study, first of all, the above transformation  $T_1$ , and then the group of transformations generated by  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  where  $T_2$  and  $T_3$  are similar transformations defined by the pairs  $A_0 A_2, A_1 A_3$  and  $A_0 A_3, A_1 A_2$ . This group is found to be an Abelian group of order 8. In § 4 the above construction is utilised to find the mate of any point in a Möbius involution and in the Generalised Isogonal Transformation. The mutual relations between the 8 points and 8 circles of a Miquel configuration are considered in the light of the above group of transformations. In § 5 the curve of double points of  $T_1$  is obtained and studied, and in § 6, the curves automorphic for the above group are studied.

2. The transformations are studied from the point of view of Circle-Geometry (i.e.) the Geometry associated with the group of circular transformations which carry the points of a circle into the points of another circle. For this purpose we take the familiar mode of representation of the manifold of  $\infty^3$  circles in the complex plane by the points of a projective space  $S_3$  of three dimensions. The sub-manifold of point circles corresponds to the totality of points on a quadric  $Q$ , called the Absolute. The two minimal lines through any point in the plane correspond to the two generators through the corresponding point on  $Q$ . A pair of orthogonal circles corresponds to a pair of points conjugate with respect to  $Q$ . Let us represent by the same letter the corresponding elements in the plane and on the Absolute  $Q$ , as we have often to pass from the one to the other.

1. I am indebted to Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswamy for suggesting this problem to me.

2. Coolidge. *A Treatise on the circle and the sphere*. Page 205. He only shows that the locus is a cyclic. In this paper, the curve is shown to be subrational cyclic and is studied in detail. See § 5.

3. Since  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  are non-cyclic points in the plane the corresponding points in  $S_3$  are non-coplanar points lying on the quadric  $Q$ . Hence if we take  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  to be vertices of the tetrahedron of reference, the equation to  $Q$  will be of the form

$$a_{rs} x_r x_s = 0 \quad r \neq s \quad r, s = 0, 1, 2, 3.$$

By a proper choice of the multipliers in the substitution

$$x_r = K_r X_r,$$

the equation of  $Q$  can be reduced to the normal form

$$A_{01}(X_0 X_1 + X_2 X_3) + A_{02}(X_0 X_2 + X_1 X_3) + A_{03}(X_0 X_3 + X_1 X_2) = 0 \quad (3.1)$$

Let the co-ordinates of  $P$ , any point on  $Q$  be  $(x_0 x_1 x_2 x_3)$ . Then the points of the circle  $PA_0 A_1$  correspond to the points on the section of  $Q$  with the plane  $PA_0 A_1$ , the equation of which is

$$\frac{X_2}{x_2} = \frac{X_3}{x_3} \quad (3.2)$$

Similarly the points of the circle  $PA_2 A_3$  correspond to the points on the section of  $Q$  with the plane

$$\frac{X_0}{x_0} = \frac{X_1}{x_1} \quad (3.3)$$

Hence  $P_1$  the other point of intersection of circles  $PA_0 A_1$ ,  $PA_2 A_3$  corresponds to the other point of intersection of the line determined by (3.2).

and (3.3) with  $Q$ . The co-ordinates of  $P_1$  are  $\left(\frac{1}{x_1}, \frac{1}{x_0}, \frac{1}{x_3}, \frac{1}{x_2}\right)$

as may be easily seen by substitution in the above equations.

If we consider the transformations  $\Gamma$  which carries  $P(x_0, x_1, x_2, x_3)$  to  $R\left(\frac{1}{x_0}, \frac{1}{x_1}, \frac{1}{x_2}, \frac{1}{x_3}\right)$  and  $I_1$  which carries  $P$  to  $R_1(x_1, x_0, x_3, x_2)$

it is obvious that the transformation  $T_1$ , carrying  $P$  to  $P_1$ , is the product of the transformations  $\Gamma$  and  $I_1$ . The transformation  $\Gamma$  in the complex plane is an important involutory cubic transformation with singular points at the base points  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$ , and has been the subject of elaborate study by Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswamy.<sup>3</sup> Of much interest, is the

3. R. Vaidyanathaswamy 'A Memoir on the cubic transformation associated with a desmic system.' Supplement to *Journal India Math. Soc.* Vol. 17.

fact that it becomes the ordinary Isogonal transformation with respect to the triangle  $A_1 A_2 A_3$  when  $A_0$  is the single point at infinity in the complex plane. It is hence called the Generalised Isogonal Transformation.  $I_1$  is obviously an involutory collineation in  $S_3$ , interchanging the points of the two pairs  $A_0 A_1$  and  $A_2 A_3$  and keeping  $Q$  fixed. Further it cannot interchange the two reguli of  $Q$ ; for then there is a conic of fixed points and any two pairs of corresponding points are coplanar. Hence  $I_1$  must keep each regulus invariant. Hence in the complex plane  $I_1$  is a direct circular transformation (i.e.) a Möbius involution interchanging  $A_0 A_1$  and  $A_2 A_3$ .<sup>4</sup> Hence we have

*Theorem I.*

*The Transformation  $T_1$  carrying  $P$  to  $P_1$  is the product of the Generalised Isogonal Transformation with respect to the base tetrad  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  and the Möbius Involution interchanging the points of the pairs  $A_0 A_1$  and  $A_2 A_3$ .* (34)

Similarly, if circles  $PA_0 A_2$  and  $PA_1 A_3$  intersect at  $P_2$ , and circles  $PA_0 A_3$  and  $PA_1 A_2$  intersect at  $P_3$ , the transformations  $T_2$  and  $T_3$  carrying  $P$  to  $P_2$  and  $P_3$  respectively may be obtained as the product of  $I$  and  $I_2$  and  $I_3$  respectively.

Incidentally we note  $I'I_r = I_r I$  ( $r = 1, 2, 3$ ). Hence the Generalised Isogonal Transformation with respect to the tetrad  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  is permutable with each of the three Möbius Involutions interchanging the points of the tetrad in pairs. (35)

4. Let us determine the group of transformations defined by the above transformations  $T_r$ . It is well-known that the three involutions,  $I_1$ ,  $I_2$  and  $I_3$  interchanging in pairs the points  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$ , are mutually harmonic<sup>5</sup> and that these together with the Identity Transformation  $I$  form a group simply isomorphic with the Four-Group (Viergruppe). The elements of such a group are connected by the following relations:

$$I_r^2 = I \quad I_r \cdot I_s = I_s \cdot I_r = I_t \quad (r, s, t = 1, 2, 3).$$

4. Coolidge. loc. cit. P. 316. If, as in the Argand diagram, every point in the complex plane is associated with a complex number  $z$ , pairs of points belonging to a Möbius Involution are given by a pencil of quadratics

$$(az^2 + bz + c) + \lambda (a'z^2 + b'z + c') = 0.$$

where  $\lambda$  is a complex parameter.

5. Two involutions are said to be harmonic with each other, when the pairs of double points of the involutions, lie on a circle and separate each other harmonically. Then the quadratics in  $z$  giving the two pairs of double points are apolar.

This group of transformations  $G_4$  acting on any point gives rise to a tetrad of points and such a tetrad is called a syzegetic tetrad.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Now} \quad T_r^2 &= \Gamma I_r \cdot \Gamma I_r = \Gamma^2 I_r^2 = I \\ T_r T_s &= \Gamma I_r \cdot \Gamma I_s = \Gamma^2 I_r I_s = I_t \\ T_r I_s &= \Gamma I_r I_s = \Gamma I_t = T_t.\end{aligned}$$

From the above relations, it follows that  $T_1 T_2 T_3$  generate a finite group of order 8 comprising the elements  $I, I_r, T_r$  and  $\Gamma$  ( $r = 1, 2, 3$ ). Thus

*The involutory transformations  $T_1 T_2 T_3$  generate an Abelian Group of order 8, whose elements are  $I, I_1, I_2, I_3$  and  $\Gamma T_1 T_2 T_3$  where  $I_1 I_2 I_3$  are the three mutually harmonic Möbius Involutions interchanging the base points  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  in pairs and  $\Gamma$  is the Generalised Isogonal Transformation with respect to the base points.* (4.1)

This group has for its sub-groups, the group  $G_4$  formed by  $I I_1 I_2 I_3$  and three others of the type  $g^r$  comprising  $I I_r T_s T_t$ ; and all these sub-groups are simply isomorphic with the Four-Group.

We shall now examine the configuration of 8 points obtained when this group  $G_8$  acts on any point  $P$ . Let the points corresponding to the operators in the order given in (4.1) be  $P R_1 R_2 R_3, R P_1 P_2 P_3$  respectively. Obviously the first four points and the last four, form two syzegetic tetrads admitting the group  $G_4$ , and conjugate to each other in the Isogonal Transformation  $\Gamma$ .

Let us take the tetrad of points corresponding to one of the sub-groups  $g^r$ , say  $P, R_r, P_s, P_t$ . We shall now prove that

*The base points  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  and the four points corresponding to one of the sub-groups  $g^r$ , form the points of a Miquel  $\delta_4, \delta_4$  configuration of points and circles.* (4.2)

Let us take the four points  $PR_1 P_2 P_3$  admitting the group  $g^1$ . Consider the following four circles through  $P$ .

$$\begin{array}{ll}(1) & P A_0 A_2 \\ (2) & P A_0 A_3 \\ (3) & P A_1 A_3 \\ (4) & P A_1 A_2\end{array}$$

Let us find the circles circumscribing the other points of intersection of these circles, taken three by three. They are easily seen to be

$$\begin{array}{ll}(1') & A_3 A_1 P_3 \\ (2') & A_2 A_1 P_2 \\ (3') & A_0 A_2 P_3 \\ (4') & A_0 A_3 P_2\end{array}$$

We shall now show that these four circles are concurrent at  $R_1$ , so that the 8 points and the 8 circles will then form a Miquel  $8_4$ ,  $8_4$  configuration of points and circles. For this we note

$$R_1 = I_1(P) = T_3 T_2(P) = T_3(P_2).$$

Hence from the definition of the transformation  $T_3$ , the circles  $A_0 A_3 P_2$  (4') and  $A_1 A_2 P_2$  (2') must be concurrent at  $R_1$ . Similarly,

$$R_1 = I_1(P) = T_2 T_3(P) = T_2(P_3).$$

Hence, as above, circles  $A_0 A_2 P_3$  (3') and  $A_1 A_3 P_3$  (1') are concurrent at  $R_1$ . Hence follows Theorem (4.2). Since out of the group of 8 points corresponding to  $G_8$ , we can form two tetrads, each invariant for a subgroup  $g^7$ , there can thus be formed 6 Miquel configurations by taking each such tetrad and the base tetrad.

In any Miquel configuration, to any point of the system, corresponds one and only one other point, which does not lie on any circle of the system passing through the first. These two points may be said to form a conjugate pair. Similarly to any circle of the system there corresponds one another, not having a point of the system, in common with the first. Thus in our Miquel configuration the four pairs of conjugate points are  $PR_1$ ,  $A_0 A_1$ ,  $A_2 A_3$  and  $P_2 P_3$ , and the four pairs of conjugate circles are (1), (1'), (2), (2'), (3), (3'), and (4), (4'). Obviously the involution  $I_1$  interchanges the points of each pair, and the circles of each pair. Conversely given a Miquel configuration, we may take two of the conjugate pairs of points to be  $A_0 A_1$ , and  $A_2 A_3$ , and if we take any other point to be  $P$ , then from the incidence relations between the points and circles of the configuration the conjugate of  $P$  can be identified with  $R_1$  and the fourth conjugate pair with  $P_2$  and  $P_3$ . Hence

*The four pairs of conjugate points, and the four pairs of conjugate circles of a Miquel configuration, all belong to a Möbius Involution.*

(4.3)

Incidentally we note that  $I_1(P) = T_2 T_3(P)$ . This gives an inversionally invariant construction for the mate of any point in an involution determined by two given pairs of points  $A_0 A_1$  and  $A_2 A_3$  in the complex plane. To find the mate of  $P$ , let circles  $PA_0 A_2$ ,  $PA_1 A_3$  meet at  $P_2$  and circles  $P_2 A_0 A_3$  and  $P_2 A_1 A_2$  meet at  $R_1$ . Then  $R_1$  is the mate of  $P$  in  $I_1$ .<sup>6</sup>

6. This construction seems to be simpler than that given by Dr. Coolidge. Coolidge *loc. cit* p. 323. See also Ramamurti 'A construction for the double points of an involution', *Journal Indian Math. Soc.*, Vol. 18, Pt. II, p. 257-59.

Again, since  $\Gamma = T_1 T_2 T_3 = T_1 I_1$ , this gives a construction for the Generalised Isogonal conjugate of any point with respect to the point-tetrad  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  in the complex plane.

5. *Curve of fixed points for the transformation  $\Gamma$ .* In the group  $G_8$  the transformations  $I_1 I_2 I_3$  and  $\Gamma$  have only a finite number of fixed points on the complex plane. For each  $I$ , they are in  $S_3$  the two pairs of points of intersection of the fixed generators of either regulus. In the plane, they are the two double points of the involution and their cross pair. The fixed points of  $\Gamma$  lying on the Absolute  $Q$  are the vertices of the unique tetrahedron inscribed in  $Q$  and desmic to the base tetrahedron  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$ . In the plane, they become the in-centre and the ex-centres of the triangle  $A_1 A_2 A_3$  when  $A_0$  is the single point at infinity in the plane. But, for each of the transformations  $\Gamma$  we have a curve of fixed points in the complex plane.

$T_1$  carries  $P(x_0 x_1 x_2 x_3)$  into  $P_1 \left( \frac{1}{x_1} \frac{1}{x_0} \frac{1}{x_3} \frac{1}{x_2} \right)$ . Hence  $P_1$  coincides with  $P$  when  $x_0 x_1 - x_2 x_3 = 0$ . Thus the fixed points of  $T_1$  lie on a quadric  $Q'$  circumscribing the base tetrahedron. Hence the points on  $Q$  which are fixed for  $T_1$  lie on the curve of intersection of  $Q$  and  $Q'$ . This curve is a (2, 2) curve (i.e.) it intersects every generator of either regulus of  $Q$  in two points. In the complex plane, then the curve of fixed points  $C_1$  is a cyclic (a bi-circular quartic in the Cartesian plane) through  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$ .

It is well-known that every cyclic is automorphic for three mutually harmonic involutions, and in the case of  $C_1$  these involutions are  $I_1 I_2$  and  $I_3$ , since these keep invariant both  $Q$  and  $Q'$  and hence their curve of intersection. Hence  $C_1$  admits an infinity of inscribed syzygetic tetrads admitting the three involutions  $I_1 I_2$  and  $I_3$ .

We shall now prove further that the cyclic  $C_1$  is subrational<sup>7</sup> (i.e.) it admits of one and hence an infinity of inscribed quadrangles, two of

7. If the double binary equation of the correspondence which  $C_1$  determines on the generators of the two reguli of  $Q$  be

$$\sum a_{rs} \lambda^r \mu^s = 0 \quad (r, s, = 0, 1, 2).$$

the necessary and sufficient condition that  $C_1$  should be subrational is the vanishing of the Invariant

$$\begin{vmatrix} a_{22} & a_{21} & a_{20} \\ a_{12} & a_{11} & a_{10} \\ a_{02} & a_{01} & a_{00} \end{vmatrix}$$

In this case the equation can be thrown in the form  $f_1(\lambda) = f_2(\mu)$  where  $f_1$  and  $f_2$  are rational functions. Vide Dr. Vaidyanathaswamy, 'Algebraic (2, 2) correspondence,' *Journal Indian Math. Soc.*, Vol. 16.



whose pairs of opposite sides are generators of  $Q$ . The pairs of opposite vertices of these quadrangles then belong to an involution. For this let us prove first of all that the generators through  $A_0$  and  $A_1$  form an inscribed quadrangle of  $C_1$ . Let  $A'_0$  and  $A'_1$  be the other points of intersection of these generators. The plane  $A_0 A'_0 A_1$  is obviously the tangent plane at  $A'_0$ . Hence the plane  $A_2 A'_0 A_3$  will intersect the former along a tangent at  $A'_0$ , so that  $A'_0$  is its own mate in the transformation  $T_1$ . Hence  $C_1$ , the curve of fixed points of  $T_1$ , contains  $A'_0$  and similarly  $A'_1$ . Similarly,  $C_1$  contains  $A_2, A_3$  and  $A'_2 A'_3$  the other points of intersection of the generators through  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ . Hence in the plane  $C_1$  contains the cross pair of every pair of the involution  $I_1$ , lying on it.  $C_1$  is the curve of fixed points of  $T_1$  (i.e.) the locus of a point  $P$  which moves so that circles  $PA_0 A_1$ , and  $PA_2 A_3$  touch at  $P$ . Hence summing up, we have

*The locus of a point  $P$  which moves such that the circles  $PA_0 A_1$  and  $PA_2 A_3$  touch at  $P$  is a subrational cyclic with the base tetrad  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  as an inscribed syzygetic tetrad, and containing the cross-pair<sup>8</sup> of every pair of the involution  $I_1$  which interchanges the points of the pairs  $A_0 A_1$  and  $A_2 A_3$ .* (51)

It can be shown further that  $C_1$  contains the double points of the involutions  $I_2$  and  $I_3$  and their cross-pairs. For if  $P$  be a double point of  $I_2$  let  $T_1(P) = R_1$  and  $T_3(R_1) = P_2$ , so that  $I_2(P) = P_2$ . If  $P_2$  is to coincide with  $P$ , it is necessary that  $P_2$  must coincide with  $R_1$  and  $R_1$  with  $P$ , so that  $T_1(P) = P$ . Hence  $C_1$  passes through  $P$ . Since the two double points of  $I_2$  form a pair belonging to the involution  $I_1$ ,  $C_1$  contains their cross-pair also. Similarly for the double points of  $I_3$ .

6. *Cyclic curves automorphic for the group  $G_8$ .* In general, the transformation  $\Gamma$ , being a cubic one, carries a quadric into a surface of the 6th degree. But if it passes through the singular points  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$ , the transform splits into a quadric and the four singular planes, which are the plane faces of the tetrahedron  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$ . Taking then, any such quadric, its equation is of the form

$$\sum p_{rs} x_r x_s = 0 \quad (r, s = 0, 1, 2, 3 \quad r \neq s).$$

This will be carried into itself by the transformation  $T_1$  if either  $p_{01} = p_{23}$  or  $p_{01} = -p_{23}$  when the remaining coefficients vanish. Hence

8. By the cross-pair of  $AB$  is meant the other pair of intersections of the minimal lines through  $A$  and  $B$ . If  $A$  and  $B$  are real their cross-pair  $A'B'$  are conjugate imaginaries.

the quadrics, admitting all the three transformations  $T_1$   $T_2$  and  $T_3$  and hence the group  $G$ , are given by

$$p_{01}(x_0 x_1 + x_2 x_3) + p_{02}(x_0 x_2 + x_1 x_3) + p_{03}(x_0 x_3 + x_1 x_2) = 0 \quad (6.1)$$

$$x_0 x_1 - x_2 x_3 = 0, x_0 x_2 - x_1 x_3 = 0 \text{ and } x_0 x_3 - x_1 x_2 = 0. \quad (6.2)$$

It is well-known that the quadrics given by (6.1) form the net circumscribed to the base tetrad, and to the unique tetrad inscribed in the Absolute  $Q$  (which is also a member of the net) and desmic to the former. Then there is a unique tetrahedron not inscribed to  $Q$ , which is desmic to the above two tetrahedra and this tetrahedra is self-conjugate with respect to every quadric of the net.<sup>9</sup> Hence these quadrics and hence their curves of intersection with the Absolute  $Q$  admit the four perspective involutions defined by each vertex and the opposite face of this common self-conjugate tetrahedra. In the plane, these involutions correspond to inversions in four mutually orthogonal circles, and hence the corresponding cycles have the same four director circles.<sup>10</sup> We have already seen that the curve of intersection of the three quadrics given by (6.2) with  $Q$  are the curves of fixed points of the transformations  $T_1$ ,  $T_2$  and  $T_3$ .

*Hence the only cyclic curves automorphic for the group  $G$ , are besides the curves of fixed points of the transformations  $T_1$ ,  $T_2$  and  $T_3$ , the pencil of cyclics of a co-director system having the base tetrad as an inscribed syzegetic tetrad.* (6.3)

It is easily seen that (6.1) and (6.2) are exactly the quadrics which are circumscribed to the tetrahedron  $A_0 A_1 A_2 A_3$  and which admit the three harmonic involutions  $I_1 I_2 I_3$  defined by the above tetrahedron. Hence we have

*Every cyclic in the complex plane is automorphic for the Isogonal Transformation, and hence the group of transformations  $G$ , with respect to an inscribed syzegetic tetrad.* (6.4)

The group  $G$  acting on any point of the curve gives rise to two inscribed syzegetic tetrads, which are isogonal conjugates of each other with respect to the base tetrad.

9. Dr. Vaidyanathaswamy. 'A memoir etc.', loc. cit.

10. It is well-known that every cyclic is self-inversive with respect to four mutually orthogonal circles, which are called the director circles of the cyclic.

# On Certain Properties of the Correlation Coefficient

By

S. SUBRAMANIAM AND S. VENKATACHARI

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1. In this paper the case of three variables  $X_1, X_2, X_3$  is discussed and the notation used is the same as in Yule's *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*. The interrelation among the coefficients of correlation of orders 0 and 1 is also studied.

## 2. THEOREM A

*The product of the three total correlations is always algebraically greater than the product of the three partial correlations.*

We know that

$$r_{23 \cdot 1} = \frac{r_{23} - r_{12}r_{13}}{(1 - r_{12}^2)^{\frac{1}{2}}(1 - r_{13}^2)^{\frac{1}{2}}}$$

$$\text{that is, } 1 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2 = 1 - \frac{(r_{23} - r_{12}r_{13})^2}{(1 - r_{12}^2)(1 - r_{13}^2)}$$

Simplifying this we get

$$\begin{aligned} 1 - r_{23}^2 - r_{12}^2 - r_{13}^2 + 2r_{23}r_{12}r_{13} &= (1 - r_{12}^2)(1 - r_{13}^2)(1 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2) \\ &> 1 - r_{12}^2 - r_{13}^2 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Hence } 2r_{23}r_{12}r_{13} > r_{23}^2 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2 \quad (a)$$

Now starting from the relation

$$r_{23} = \frac{r_{23 \cdot 1} + r_{12 \cdot 3}r_{13 \cdot 2}}{(1 - r_{12 \cdot 3}^2)^{\frac{1}{2}}(1 - r_{13 \cdot 2}^2)^{\frac{1}{2}}}$$

and arguing as previously we derive the inequality

$$2r_{23 \cdot 1}r_{12 \cdot 3}r_{13 \cdot 2} < r_{23}^2 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2 \quad (b)$$

Combining (a) and (b) we get

$$2r_{12}r_{13}r_{23} > r_{23}^2 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2 > 2r_{12 \cdot 3}r_{13 \cdot 2}r_{23 \cdot 1}$$

and from this the theorem follows.

It may be observed that it has been incidentally proved that the difference between the squares of any total correlation and the corresponding partial correlation lies above  $2r_{12} \cdot r_{13} \cdot r_{23}$  and below  $2r_{12}r_{13}r_{23}$ .

It may be seen also that (a) and (b) can be used to check the values of the partial correlation coefficients as calculated from  $r_{12}$ ,  $r_{13}$  and  $r_{23}$  by the formulae.

### 3. THEOREM B

*The correlation between  $X_2$  and  $X_3$  lies between zero and twice the product of the correlations between  $X_1$  and  $X_2$ , and  $X_1$  and  $X_3$ , when their squares are together equal to or greater than unity.*

The three correlations  $r_{12}$ ,  $r_{13}$  and  $r_{23}$  satisfy the inequality<sup>1</sup>.

$$1 - r_{12}^2 - r_{13}^2 - r_{23}^2 + 2r_{12}r_{13}r_{23} > 0 \quad (c)$$

that is,  $r_{23}^2 - 2r_{12}r_{13}r_{23} < 1 - r_{12}^2 - r_{13}^2$

But since  $r_{12}^2 + r_{13}^2 \geq 1$ , the right hand side is negative or zero.

Therefore  $r_{23}(r_{23} - 2r_{12}r_{13})$  is negative i.e.,  $r_{23}$  lies between 0 and  $2r_{12}r_{13}$  as required by the theorem.

*Corollary.* Given that  $r_{12}^2 + r_{13}^2 \geq 1$ ,  $r_{23}$  is positive if  $r_{12}$  and  $r_{13}$  are of the same sign, and negative if they are of opposite signs; in other words, the product of  $r_{12}$ ,  $r_{13}$  and  $r_{23}$  is positive if the sum of the squares of two of these is greater than or equal to unity.

4. The property mentioned in the corollary is true even when  $r_{12}^2 + r_{13}^2$  lies between  $1 - r_{23}^2$  and 1; to see this, we have only to write (c) in the form.

$$2r_{12}r_{13}r_{23} > r_{12}^2 + r_{13}^2 + r_{23}^2 - 1$$

From this we also infer that if the product of the correlations of order zero is zero or negative, the sum of their squares is less than unity.

The above form of (c) provides also an answer for the question: if  $a, b, c$  are consistent values of  $r_{23}, r_{31}, r_{12}$  respectively, can  $-a, b, c$  be consistent values of the coefficients? We find at once that the answer is in the negative if  $r_{12}^2 + r_{13}^2 + r_{23}^2 \geq 1$ . When  $r_{12}^2 + r_{13}^2 + r_{23}^2 < 1$ , if  $abc$  is negative  $-a, b, c$  are also a set of consistent values, while if  $abc$  is

positive —  $a, b, c$  are consistent only when  $2abc$  is numerically less than  $a^2 + b^2 + c^2 - 1$ . The cases of  $(a, -b, -c)$  and  $(-a, -b, -c)$  may be similarly worked out.

5. The cases of the first order correlations may now be considered. In this case we have<sup>2</sup>

$$1 - r_{12 \cdot 3}^2 - r_{13 \cdot 2}^2 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2 - 2r_{12 \cdot 3} r_{13 \cdot 2} r_{23 \cdot 1} > 0. \quad (d)$$

By an argument similar to that in section (3) we arrive at the conclusion that  $r_{23 \cdot 1}$  has a value lying between 0 and  $-2r_{12 \cdot 3}r_{31 \cdot 2}$

$$\text{if } r_{12 \cdot 3} + r_{31 \cdot 2} \geq 1.$$

It can also be proved from the inequality

$$2r_{12 \cdot 3}r_{13 \cdot 2}r_{23 \cdot 1} < 1 - r_{12 \cdot 3}^2 - r_{13 \cdot 2}^2 - r_{23 \cdot 1}^2$$

that if the product of the correlations of order 1 is greater than or equal to zero, the sum of their squares is less than unity. We deduce also that if the sum of their squares is greater than unity,  $r_{12 \cdot 3} r_{13 \cdot 2} r_{23 \cdot 1}$  is negative i.e.,  $r_{12 \cdot 3}$  is positive only if  $r_{13 \cdot 2}$  and  $r_{23 \cdot 1}$  have opposite signs.

Consistency of values  $r_{23 \cdot 1}$ ,  $r_{12 \cdot 3}$  and  $r_{13 \cdot 2}$  may also be discussed as in the second part of section (4).

6. The geometric interpretation of the results of sections (3), (4) and (5) may be of some interest. If we represent the three total correlations along the three axes of co-ordinates so that  $r_{23}$  is along the  $x$  axis and correspondingly, we see the following: in the  $yz$  plane, if we draw the unit circle about the origin and also its enveloping square whose sides are parallel to the axes, we have  $r_{23}$  positive in the closed regions A and C and negative in the closed regions B and D, where A, B, C, D are inside the square and outside the circle in the first, second, third, and fourth quadrants respectively.

If, instead of the three total correlations, we represent the three partial correlations along the axes we have  $r_{23 \cdot 1}$  negative in the regions A and C and positive in the regions B and D. The corresponding correlations  $r_{23}$  and  $r_{23 \cdot 1}$  look as though they were complementary so far as the figure is concerned.

This Note was suggested by a study of Dr. Bowley's paper "The influence on the precision of Index Numbers of correlation between the prices of commodities. (*Jour. Roy. Statist. Soc.* Vol. 89, pp. 300-319.)

# On the Sequence of digits in $\pi$ expressed as an infinite decimal

BY

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1. M de Montessus de Ballore<sup>1</sup> has given the following statistics of the frequencies of the various digits that occur among the first 700 decimal places of  $\pi$  :

		Digits.									
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
First	100 places	8	8	12	11	10	8	9	8	12	14
Second	„ „	12	11	12	8	12	12	7	4	13	9
Third	„ „	7	10	11	12	15	7	15	7	9	7
Fourth	„ „	13	13	9	8	10	13	11	4	10	9
Fifth	„ „	6	16	10	11	6	11	6	12	9	13
Sixth	„ „	14	3	12	12	10	7	16	8	6	12
Seventh	„ „	13	16	8	10	8	5	6	8	12	14
Total frequency of occurrence	}	73	77	74	72	71	63	70	51	71	78

and infers that “the occurrence of the digit 7 fifty one times and the recurring deficit balance below ten (the most probable frequency) except in the case of the fifth hundred, of the number of times of occurrence of 7 in groups of hundred”<sup>2</sup> cannot be due to mere chance. A closer examination of the distribution is made here, and it is shown that the frequencies for the digit 7 are quite within the limits of random sampling.

The assumption is that the digits are distributed at random, and the frequencies of the digit 7 are examined for any significant difference from this hypothesis.

\* With kind instructions from Mr. G. V. Krishnaswami Ayyangar.

1. Ballore : *The Sphinx*, April 1933 p. 51.

2. Ibid, June 1933, pp. 95—96.

2. The actual frequencies of the several digits in the whole distribution are given by the last row, whereas the expected frequency for each digit is 70. Hence  $\chi^2$ , as defined by Pearson,<sup>3</sup> is 7.9143, and  $n = 9$ . From the tables<sup>4</sup> we find that  $P$  exceeds .50, which means that the given set of total frequencies for the various digits cannot be regarded as significantly different from the hypothetical.

3. Secondly, taking any decimal place, the possibility of any digit occurring there is  $1/10$ , and it is the same for all the decimal places. Hence the probabilities of the frequencies 0, 1, 2, . . . . . 700 of any digit will be given by the successive terms of the Binomial expansion of  $\{(9/10) + (1/10)\}^{700}$ . The probability of a frequency 51 for any digit is

$$P_{51} = {}_{700}C_{51} (9/10)^{649} (1/10)^{51} = 0.002,523$$

and the probability of the most probable frequency is

$$P_{70} = 0.050,201.$$

The mean and the standard deviation of this distribution are  $np = 70$  and  $\sqrt{npq} = 7.93725$ .

As the probability of a deviation of 19 is 0.01684 it is unsafe to assert that the deviation is significant.

4. Further, the probability of any digit having a frequency 51 or less than 51, in this sequence is  $\sum_0^{51} P_n = 0.00784$  and that for a frequency of 89 or more is  $\sum_{89}^{700} P_n = 0.01178$ .

The first implies that if rows of 700 digits are written out at random, one can expect a frequency of 51 or less for one of the digits in one of thirteen samples. The sum of the two probabilities given above, namely 0.01962, is the probability of a frequency whose deviation from 70 exceeds 18, irrespective of sign. This reduces to about one in fifty, and hence one cannot definitely assert that the frequency 51 is not due to chance. Paul Levy<sup>5</sup>, in a review of Ballore's article observes that, "there is a chance of about one in fifty so that one finds 51 or a number still less," which ought to read as "there is a chance of about one in fifty so that one finds a frequency which is either  $\leq 51$  or  $\geq 89$ ."

3. Fisher: *Statistical methods for research workers*. p. 75.

4. Ibid, p. 96.

5. The *Sphinx* 1933, p. 95.

5. According to Jones,<sup>6</sup> the frequency  $y_k$  in the  $k^{th}$  group, if due simply to random sampling, should not differ from its expected value by

more than  $3\sigma_{y_k}$  where  $\sigma_{y_k} = \sqrt{y_k \left(1 - \frac{y_k}{n}\right)}$ .

In the case of the digit 7,  $3\sigma_{y_k} = 20.628$  and the observed deviation of 19 is within this limit.

6. Lastly, if  $\pi_{(a, b, c, \dots g)}$  is the probability of any digit to have frequencies  $a, b, c, \dots g$  in the seven successive hundreds of decimal places, the *a priori* probability for the digit 7 to have the given set of frequencies is  $\pi_7 = 0.000,000,003,350$ .

where as  $\pi_6 = 0.000,000,003,110$ .

and  $\pi_1 = 0.000,000,000,296$ .

(These probabilities are obtained by multiplying together the individual *a priori* probabilities for the frequencies of each cell). Here also one finds that the given suite of frequencies for the digit 7, are more probable than those given for 6, and indeed, eleven times more probable than those given for the digit 1.

7. In the course of his reply Ballore says : "The probability of any one of the ten digits which occur 63 times or less is 0.20797. The sum of these probabilities for the ten digits is 2.0797. In fact, this number is two (63 and 51)." Now a question may be raised : what is the speciality about the number 63 ? One could as well have chosen 69, in which case, the probable number of digits work out to 4.8 nearly, whereas, actually, we have only two (63 and 51). In fact, in dealing with cases of this type, where the expected frequency for any class is always a fraction, while the observed frequency for that class is invariably an integer, one must take into consideration the integers which are just higher and just lower than the expected value, and then examine them more closely. In the case of 51, the probable number of digits is 0.0784, and we have one (namely 51). So it may not be considered as unexpected.

8. From the foregoing arguments it appears that the mere fact of the digit 7 appearing 51 times does not indicate any significance for that digit. It has been shown that the frequencies of the digit 7 have a greater probability of existence than those for the digits 6 or 1. So, one cannot assert that there has been some bias in the case of the digit 7, as it has been shown that the frequencies are well within the limits of random sampling.

6. Jones : A first course in statistics (1921), p. 151.



# Experiments on the Synthesis of Paraberine.

## PART I.

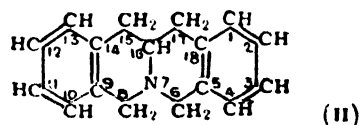
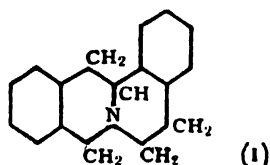
### A Synthesis of 8:17-diketo-6:17-dihydroparaberine.

By

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI AND K. GANAPATI.

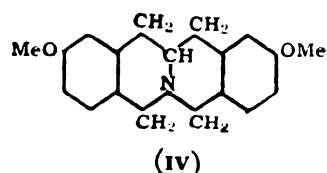
(Annamalai University)

A careful survey of the constitution of the various groups of alkaloids reveals the fact that the majority of them are built on an angular structure. Thus while berberine, corydaline, cryptopine, palmatine and a host of other alkaloids can be regarded as having been derived from the skeleton of tetrahydropprotoberberine (I), not a single alkaloid containing the isomeric straight linear structure (II) has yet been discovered.

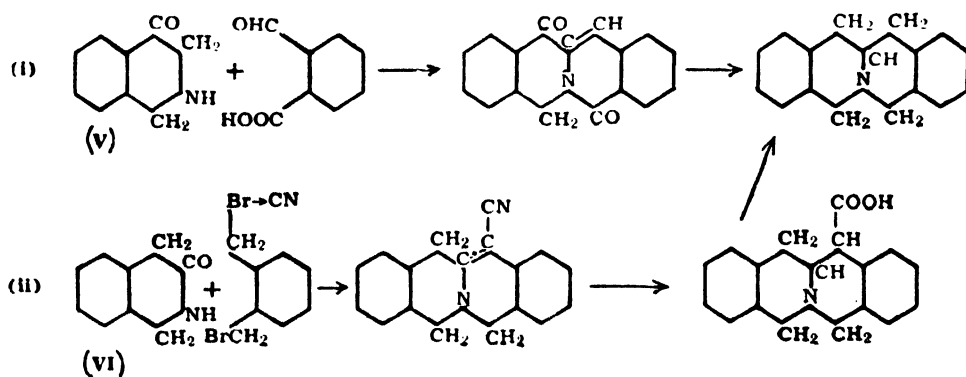


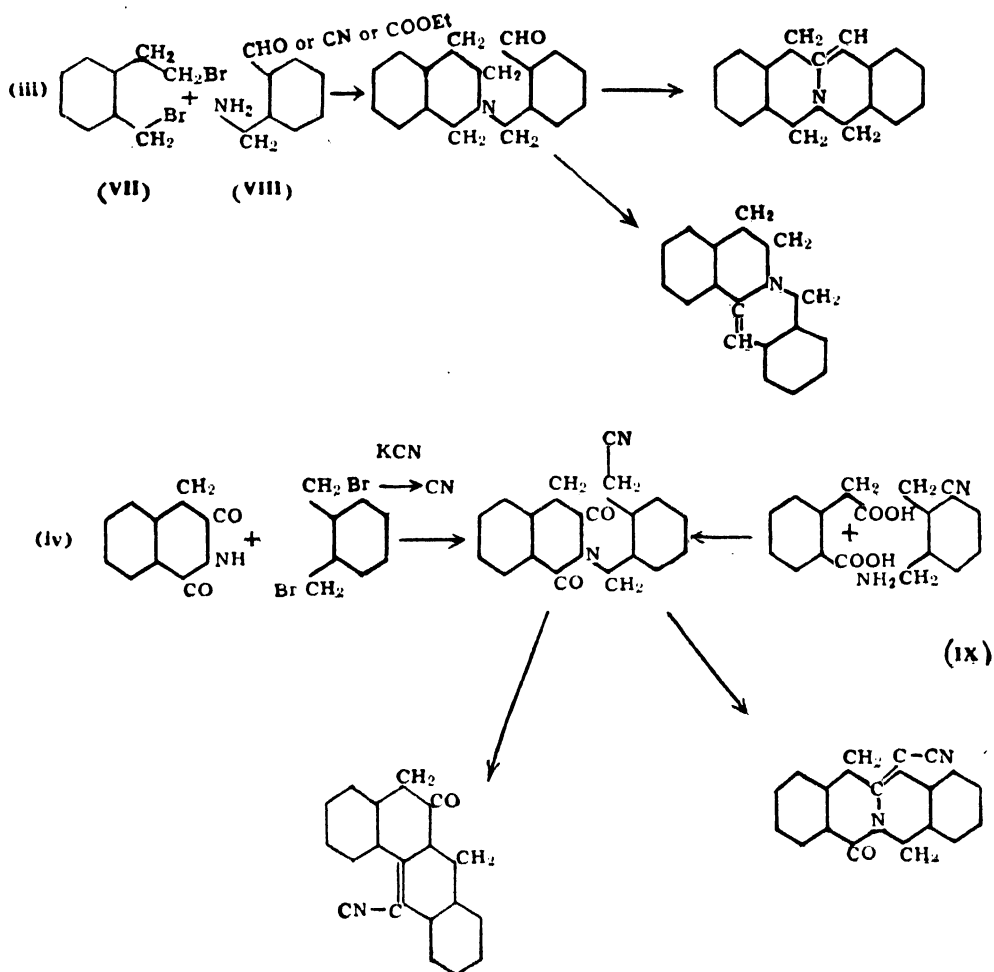
In order to throw some light on the reason why the skeleton of (I) is so commonly selected by Nature, Campbell, Haworth, and Perkin (J. Chem. Soc., 1926, 32) attempted the synthesis of 2:3-methylenedioxy-11:12-dimethoxy-6:15:16:17-tetrahydroparaberine (III). During these experiments they found that the various stages in the synthesis did not proceed as smoothly as in the case of tetrahydro- $\psi$ -berberine or tetrahydro- $\psi$ -epiberberine, and they came to the conclusion that the greater ease of formation and more characteristic properties of alkaloids built on the angular type may have some bearing on the occurrence and preferential selection of this type in nature.

In order to throw further light on the problem, and in particular, to test the validity of the above conclusion that the compounds with straight linear structure are more difficult to synthesise, the synthesis of 2: 12 dimethoxy-tetra-hydro-parabarine (IV) and of tetrahydro-parabarine itself (II), the parent substance of this group of alkaloids, was attempted.



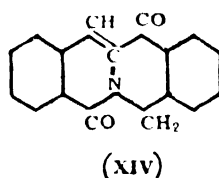
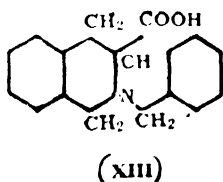
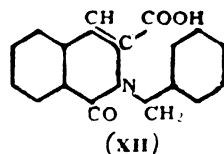
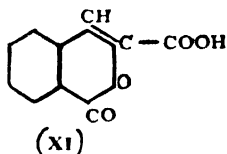
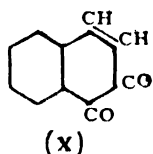
It was realised at the outset that synthesis of tetrahydroparabarine through ring closure at the positions 5 and 9 or 14 and 18 would be a difficult affair as there were no para activating methoxy groups present (Compare Chakravarti and Nair, J. Indian Chem. Soc., 1932, 9, 577) and as the yields even in the case of the synthesis of tetra-hydroprotoberberine were poor, (J. Chem. Soc., 1927, 2275), and it seemed apparent that the best methods of synthesis would be those involving the ring closure through active groups and activated hydrogen atoms as shown in the following schemes :—





The schemes (iii) and (iv) are of particular interest as they would enable one to obtain direct evidence as to whether angular structures like that of protoberberine are more readily formed or straight linear structures. Unfortunately a reference to the literature showed that the substances (V) and (VI) required for the schemes (i) and (ii) have not yet been synthesised and the substances (VII), (VIII) and (IX) required for the schemes (iii) and (iv) are not yet readily available substances. We therefore first attempted to synthesise tetrahydroparaberberine by other methods, and these form the subject of the present paper. An account of experiments to realise the schemes indicated above is reserved for a future communication.

For the synthesis of the diketo-dihydroparabesine (XIV),  $\beta$ -naphthaquinone (X) was first converted into Isocoumarin carboxylic acid (XI) in excellent yields by Bamberger's method (Ber. 1894, 27, 198). Isocoumarin carboxylic acid was then condensed with benzylamine, when the compound (XII) was obtained in almost a quantitative yield. Preliminary exploratory attempts to reduce (XII) to (XIII) being unsuccessful, (probably because of the fact that the compound (XII) gets gradually hydrolysed by the action of strong acids), it was thought advisable first to convert (XII) into (XIV) and then to reduce (XIV) to tetrahydroparabesine.



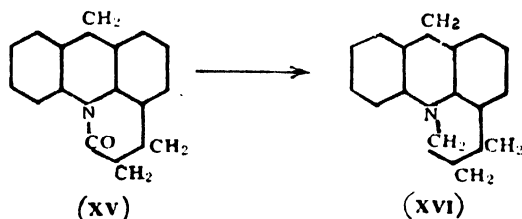
Attempts to convert (XII) into (XIV) by the action of concentrated sulphuric acid or phosphorous pentoxide in boiling Xylene were not very successful. It was ultimately found that by the action of anhydrous aluminium chloride on the acid chloride of (XII) in nitrobenzene solution, the dihydro-diketoparabesine (XIV) could be obtained in a yield of about 60 per cent.

The diketodihydroparabesine, m.p.  $187^{\circ}$ , thus obtained was found to be a nonbasic substance, and has properties reminiscent of oxyberberine and dioxyberberine. It does not form a hydrochloride, but gives an oxime m.p.  $306^{\circ}$ .

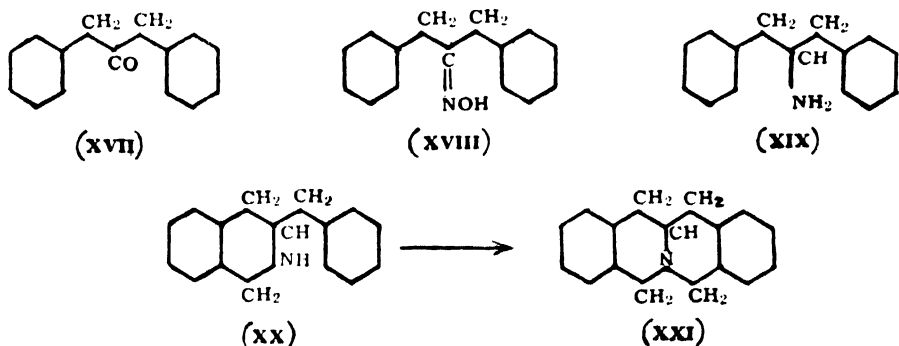
All attempts to reduce (XIV) to tetrahydroparabesine either by Clemensen's method or electrolytically have so far been unsuccessful.

Attempts are being made to reduce the substance through the chloro-compound and by Wolff and Kishner's method.

In this connection it may be pointed out that it is generally difficult to reduce the CO group of the type present in (XIV) to  $\text{CH}_2$ . For example, Clemo, Perkin and Robinson (J. C. S. 1924, 1761) were unable to reduce (XV) to (XVI).



The next scheme that was attempted would be clear from the following formulae sketch :—



The dibenzyl ketone (XVII), prepared according to the method of Apitzsch (Ber., 1904, 37, 1429), was converted into its oxime and the oxime reduced electrolytically to the amine (XIX) according to the directions given by S. Kaplansky (Ber., 1927, 60, 1842). Attempts to convert (XIX) to (XX) or (XXI) by the action of formaldehyde or through formyl derivative have so far been unsuccessful, doubtless due to the absence of activating p-methoxy groups.

Further work is in progress, and an account of a synthesis of 2 : 12 dimethoxy-tetrahydroparaberine is reserved for a future communication.

*Experimental.*

*Isocoumarin-Carboxylic acid (XI).*  $\beta$ -naphthol was first converted into  $\beta$ -naphthoquinone according to the method of Lagodzinski and Hardine (Ber., 1894, 27, 3076).

$\beta$ -naphthoquinone was then oxidised by the method of Zincke (Ber., 1892, 25, 405) to dihydro-oxy-isocoumarin-carboxylic acid, and the latter converted to Isocoumarin-carboxylic acid (Bamberger loc. cit.).

*N-Benzyl-isocarbostyryl-3-carboxylic acid (XII).* Isocoumarin carboxylic acid (1 g.) and benzylamine (.6 g.) were heated together in a round bottomed flask for 10 minutes. The reaction product was dissolved in absolute alcohol, and the solution heated under reflux condenser for 15 minutes. On cooling, N-Benzyl-isocoumarin-3-carboxylic acid separated from the solution in glistening prismatic needles. On concentrating the mother liquors, a further quantity of the acid is obtained. Yield almost quantitative. On being recrystallised from methyl alcohol it melted at 207°. (Found C, 72.9, 73.0; H, 4.5, 4.8.  $C_{17}H_{13}O_3N$  requires C, 73.1; H, 4.7%.)

It is sparingly soluble in benzene, toluene or Xylene, but readily dissolves in alcohol. It is insoluble in dilute hydrochloric or sulphuric acids, but dissolves in concentrated sulphuric acid. It readily dissolves in sodium carbonate solution with effervescence, and on being boiled with dilute or concentrated acids, it undergoes hydrolysis.

*8 : 17-diketo-6 : 17-dihydroparabesine (XIV).* Attempts to convert the above acid into (XIV) by the following methods were unsuccessful :

- (i) With concentrated sulphuric acid under the usual conditions ;
- (ii) By treatment with concentrated sulphuric acid (3 vols.) and water (1 vol.) under the conditions used by Haworth for converting r-naphthyl-butyric acids into ketotetrahydrophenanthrenes (J., 1932, 1129).
- (iii) With conc. sulphuric acid under the conditions described by Raistrick, Robinson and Todd for preparation of Helminthosporin (J., 1933, 489).
- (iv) By the action of phosphorus pentoxide in boiling xylene solution.

Eventually it was found that 8 : 17-diketo-6 : 17-dihydroparabesine could best be obtained under the following conditions :—N-Benzylisocarbostyryl-3-carboxylic acid (5 g.) is gently refluxed on the water-bath with thionyl chloride (10 c.c.) for two hours, and excess of thionyl chlo-

ride removed under diminished pressure. The crystalline residue is then dissolved in dry nitrobenzene and this solution is then carefully treated with Aluminium chloride (6 g.) dissolved in nitrobenzene. The mixture is then heated on the steam-bath for 30 minutes and then left overnight. The reaction product was then carefully treated with water and the nitrobenzene removed by steam distillation, when a crystalline substance, together with a little tarry product, is left in the distillation flask. The crystalline substance was filtered off and then agitated with sodium carbonate solution to remove any unchanged acid, and finally crystallised from methyl alcohol (yield 2 gr.). 8 : 17-diketo-6 : 17-dihydroparaberine is thus obtained in colourless rhombs or prisms, m.p. 189°. (Found C, 78.3, 78.1; H, 4.4, 4.4.  $C_{17}H_{11}NO_2$  requires C, 78.1; H, 4.2%.) It is readily soluble in the usual organic solvents except petroleum ether. It is insoluble in cold and hot water, and in dilute acids. It does not give a hydrochloride, but is soluble in concentrated sulphuric acid.

*Reduction of the Diketodihydroparaberine.*

The following methods of reduction were tried :—

1. Reduction by Clemensen's method ;
2. Reduction by modified Clemensen's method, modification consisting in adding acetic acid to hydrochloric acid so as to ensure greater solubility.
3. Reduction by Ruzicka's modified Clemensen's method.
4. Reduction with Zinc and glacial acetic acid ;
5. Sodium and alcohol ;
6. Electrolytic reduction.

All the above methods were found to be unsatisfactory, as either the starting substance was recovered unchanged or the reduction products were obtained in exceedingly poor yields.

*Attempts to convert dibenzylmethylaniline (XIX) into tetrahydroparaberine (XXI).*

The following experiments were performed with the object of converting dibenzyl methylaniline (XIX) into tetra-hydroparaberine (XXI).

- (i) Condensation with formaldehyde and attempts at ring closure under conditions similar to those used by Campbell, Haworth and Perkin (J. C. S., 1926, 39, 42).

- (ii) Condensation with methylal and attempts at ring closure under conditions described by Pictet and Springler (Ber., 1911, 44, 2031).
- (iii) Condensation with formic acid and then subsequent attempts at ring closure with phosphorous oxychloride under the usual conditions.
- (iv) Attempts at ring closure of the formyl derivative with phosphorous pentoxide in boiling Xylene and in boiling tetraline solution.

All attempts have so far been unsuccessful, but the problem is reserved for further investigation by one of us (S. N. C.).



# Chemical Investigation of Indian Medicinal Plants

## PART IV.

### Preliminary Chemical Examination of *Teramus labialis*

By

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI AND K. GANAPATI

(*Annamalai University*)

*Teramus labialis* is a twining herb, which is found all over the plains of India, from the foot of the Himalayas to Ceylon. The decoctions of this plant is used in Hindu medicine. According to Hindu medicine, "The Mashparni" (the Sanskrit equivalent of *Teramus labialis*) is bitter, cooling, sweet, astringent and dry. It cures consumption, fever, and disorders of wind, bile and blood.

A reference to the literature showed that no work whatever has been done on the chemical constituents of this plant. The chemical investigation of this plant appeared to us to be a subject of more than usual interest as it is claimed by many that this plant can cure consumption, whilst "the Western medicine has still to discover a cure for consumption." If the active principles of this plant were to actually possess the curative properties claimed for this plant, the importance of such an investigation could scarcely be overestimated, as consumption is a fell disease in India and it is daily becoming a more and more serious menace to the Public Health of India.

The present investigation has shown that besides the usual constituents, the plant contains a number of interesting substances. Three of these substances have been isolated in pure state. Besides these, plant extracts give tests for glucosides and acids.

During the working up of large quantities of the plant material obtained in different seasons (from reputed Botanists), it was observed that while the active principles of the material collected in one season seemed to be a glucoside, an acid, and two substances, one melting at 83°, and the other at 129°, the active principles of the material collected at another season seemed to be quite different, the substances melting at 129° having been replaced by another substance m.p. 143°, which appears to be a complex hydrocarbon. The cause of this remarkable variation is being further investigated.

An account of the study of the physiological properties and chemical constitution of the substances isolated is reserved for a future communication.

### *Experimental.*

Preliminary tests carried out in the usual manner indicated the presence of an acid, a glucoside and enzymes and the absence of cyanogenetic substances, essential oils, and tannins. Tests with the Prollius fluid indicated the absence of alkaloids.

In order to ascertain the general character of the constituents, 100 gms. of the dry powdered material were extracted with the following solvents and the extracts were dried on the steam bath.

Dry Petroleum Ether (B.P. 30-50) extracted	.. 0.88 %
Dry Ethyl Ether	.. 0.79 %
Chloroform	.. 0.49 %
Absolute alcohol	.. 2.39 %
70 % Alcohol	.. 4.61 %
	<hr/>
Total	.. 9.16 %
	<hr/>

*Petroleum Ether Extract.* The dark green extract was concentrated to a small volume and then shaken with acidified water. The acid extract did not give any test for alkaloids or glucosides. The petroleum ether solution was washed with water, dried over Sodium sulphate and evaporated to dryness when a dark green waxy product was obtained. This was boiled under reflux for half an hour with ethyl alcohol (100 c.c.) and filtered hot. The insoluble part was once again boiled with alcohol and filtered hot. A dark green greasy residue (0.01 gm. 0.02 gm.) very soluble in benzene was left undissolved. The green alcoholic filtrate deposited on cooling a substance A (0.22 gm.). On concentrating the filtrate from (A) to about 25 c.c., a dark resinous product (B) (0.3 gm.) separated which was immediately filtered off. The filtrate on further concentration gave a third substance (C) (0.15—0.2 gm.), which crystallised in long beautiful needles, together with a small quantity of (B).

(A) is a waxlike substance readily soluble in chloroform, and benzene, sparingly soluble in acetone and carbontetrachloride and insoluble in water, dilute acids or alkalis. It was not saponified by boiling with alcoholic potash for four hours. In the impure state only, it gives

some tests for phytosterols. On repeated crystallisations from benzene and petroleum ether it was obtained as a colourless brittle powder m.p.  $88.84^{\circ}$  which does not answer the tests for phytosterols.

The dark resinous product (B) was also insoluble in acids and alkalis. It stained the skin yellow and no crystalline product could be obtained from it. It was a mixture of a saponifiable and colouring matter.

(C), on repeated crystallisation from dilute alcohol or petroleum ether (B.P.  $70-80^{\circ}$ ), was obtained as a mass of beautiful needles or thin plates m.p.  $129^{\circ}$ . It is readily soluble in organic solvents, sparingly in cold water and moderately in boiling water. It is insoluble in cold hydrochloric acid but gradually dissolves on boiling. With alkalis it gives only yellow coloration without dissolving. An aqueous solution as such does not reduce Fehling's solution but reduces the same after hydrolysis with hydrochloric acid. An alcoholic solution gives a violet ring with  $\alpha$ -naphthol and sulphuric acid (Molische's test) and a blood red colouration with ferric chloride. It does not answer the tests for Tannins or Lecithins. It produces a tickling sensation on the tongue.

*Ethyl Ether Extract.* The green coloured extract, which showed a beautiful red fluorescence, was concentrated to a small volume and extracted with water and then acidified water. These aqueous extracts did not give tests for alkaloids, tannins or glucosides. The ether extract was washed with water, dried over Sodium Sulphate and evaporated to dryness. The green residue was boiled with alcohol, and the solution thus obtained filtered from a little undissolved residue (0.01 gm.) of a neutral character. The alcoholic extract, after treatment with animal charcoal, was filtered and concentrated when a spongy substance (A) separated (0.2 gm.) which was identical with (A) in the previous extract, melting at  $83^{\circ}$  after some crystallisations. The filtrate from this was evaporated to dryness and the residue shaken up with aqueous sodium carbonate, when part of it dissolved. On acidifying the sodium carbonate extract a substance of an acidic nature was precipitated. The residue which did not dissolve in sodium carbonate did not give tests for lecithins, tannins, etc., but seemed to resemble A.

*Chloroform Extract.* The emerald green solution gave on evaporation a dark green residue with a nauseating smell. This residue was found to contain an acid and an almost crystalline substance (0.2—0.3 gms.) which after repeated crystallisations from benzene melted at  $92-3^{\circ}$ .

*Absolute Alcohol Extract.* The material was refluxed for 6 hours with 400 c.c. of absolute alcohol, filtered hot and boiled twice more with 300 c.c. of alcohol and filtered hot when the extraction was practically complete. Allowing the total green extract to remain overnight, a spongy substance (A) (0.056 gm.) separated. The filtrate from this was concentrated to 50—60 c.c. when some more of (A) (0.01 gm.) separated. On adding ether to the filtrate a brown waxy product (B) (0.72 gm.) was precipitated which was filtered off. This filtrate was evaporated to dryness when a dark green residue was obtained. This was treated with 30 c.c. of boiling water and filtered hot. The insoluble dark green residue (C) was found to be a mixture of an acid, and a small amount of a substance insoluble in sodium carbonate. The melting point of the crude acid was 169—175°.

(A) in the crude form melts at 110—112°. After crystallisation from benzene it melted at 123°, but owing to the small amount available it could not be further investigated.

(B) dissolved in water with frothing. The aqueous solution is slightly acidic to litmus and reduces fehling's solution after hydrolysis. It does not answer tests for alkaloids, tannins or saponins but gives the Molische's carbohydrate test. On acidifying the solution a flocculent precipitate is obtained. The total aqueous solution of (B), was treated with lead acetate when a flocculent precipitate (0.2 gm.) insoluble in alcohol and acetic acid was obtained. The precipitate was decomposed with hydrogen sulphide, but nothing crystalline could be obtained from it. The filtrate from the above precipitate was freed from lead, concentrated to a small volume and treated with basic lead acetate, when only a very small quantity of a precipitate was obtained. The filtrate from this was again freed from lead and evaporated to dryness on the water-bath. The syrupy residue on being boiled with alcohol gave a crystalline substance which did not melt even at 300°. This substance was almost insoluble in all organic solvents, but dissolved readily in water. It is hygroscopic and does not answer tests for alkaloids or tannins. It appears to be a calcium salt.

*The aqueous filtrate from (C)* did not give tests for tannins, alkaloids or glucosides. On working up the solution in the manner described above for (B), a crystalline substance, m.p. above 300°, with bitter taste was obtained.

*70% alcohol extract.* The extract was similar to the previous extract. It contained, in addition, some protein, carbohydrates and salts of potassium and calcium. Alkaloids and tannins were found absent.

*Cold, and hot Distilled water extracts.* Dark red solutions were obtained, which did not give tests for alkaloids, but reduced Fehling's solution after hydrolysis. Carbohydrates and salts of potassium and calcium were present.

*Cold 1% hydrochloric acid extract.* The extract did not give tests for alkaloids.

*Attempts to isolate the glucoside.*

(i) 400 g. of the plant material were intimately mixed with finely divided Calcium carbonate (15 gm.) and boiled with 70% alcohol (1700 c.c.) on the water-bath for 3 hours and then filtered hot. The material was once again extracted with the alcohol (1000 c.c.) and filtered hot. The combined filtrates on being allowed to remain overnight deposited a substance (A). The filtrate from (A) was concentrated under partially reduced pressure to about 300 c.c. and allowed to remain for sometime, when a semi-solid substance (B) separated. The dark green filtrate from (B) was treated with animal charcoal concentrated to about 100 c.c. under partially reduced pressure and treated with a solution of lead acetate. The filtrate from lead precipitate was freed from lead, and concentrated to about 20 c.c. in vacuo when a substance crystallising in needles m.p. above  $300^{\circ}$  was precipitated. This substance was very soluble in water, and reduced Fehling's solution after hydrolysis. The mother liquors from above on being evaporated to dryness gave a syrupy substance which reduced Fehling's after hydrolysis, and gave the carbohydrate test. The syrupy substance was insoluble in ordinary organic solvents and could not be obtained crystalline. It gave an osazone m.p.  $209^{\circ}$ , indicating probably the presence of glucose.

(A) on fractional crystallisation from petroleum ether gave a substance m.p.  $82-83^{\circ}$ , and a mixture of substances m.p.  $85-101^{\circ}$ . It did not contain any glucoside.

From (B), it has not been found possible so far to isolate any crystalline substance.

(ii) 95% alcohol (2000 c.c.) was mixed with finely powdered calcium carbonate (15 gms.) and heated to boiling. To the boiling solution, 500 gms. of the plant material were then gradually added in such a manner that the boiling was not interrupted. After all the material had been added, the boiling was continued under a reflux condenser for 2 hours more.

The extract was poured out, and the residue crushed as finely as possible and boiled again with alcohol. The combined alcoholic liquids were filtered and then worked up in the manner described above. Products similar to those described above were obtained.

(iii) 750 g. of the powdered plant material were thoroughly extracted with petroleum ether (B.P. 30—50°) in a specially devised apparatus. The residue (5 g.) from this extract was digested with boiling alcohol, and the insoluble part filtered. The green alcoholic solution on allowing to remain overnight deposited a green substance (A) (about 1.1 g.) which was filtered off. The filtrate was concentrated to about 75 c.c. when an oily substance separated which partly solidified on cooling. The supernatant liquid was decanted off and after treatment with animal charcoal was left overnight when a substance crystallising in beautiful needles separated. After repeated crystallisation from alcohol and petroleum ether it melted at 129°. It does not contain nitrogen. (Found: C, 81.3; H, 11.35.  $C_{27}H_{46}O_2$  requires C, 80.6; H, 11.4.  $C_{27}H_{44}C_2$  requires C, 81.0; H, 11%.)

The substance (A), on repeated crystallisation from benzene petroleum mixtures, is obtained as a white colourless powder m.p. 83—84°. It does not contain nitrogen, phosphorus or sulphur. (Found: C, 80.8; H, 11.4.  $C_{27}H_{46}O_2$  requires C, 80.6; H, 11.4.) It remains unaffected when treated with bromine and alkaline permanganate in the cold. It was unaffected by heating with concentrated nitric acid for 5 hours on the water-bath. It does not dissolve in concentrated sulphuric acid, but dissolves in a mixture of sulphuric and nitric acid on warming. On pouring this solution into excess of water, a precipitate (m.p. 102°, probably a nitro-compound) is thrown down. It does not give a phenylhydrazone under usual conditions. On being boiled with acetic anhydride and a drop of sulphuric acid for two hours, it gives a dark brown product which in the crude state melts at 167°. The significance of these reactions will be discussed later after its properties and reactions have been more thoroughly studied.

*Repetition of preliminary examination with Fresh material  
obtained in a different period of the year.*

When fresh plant material was worked up in the manner described above for confirmation of the above results, we were surprised to find that the product melting at 129° could not be isolated at all, but instead another substance melting at 143° was obtained.

When the alcoholic extract of the plant was examined as described before (p. 220) and its constituents compared with those previously ob-

tained, it was found that (A) contained more of the higher melting fractions 95—106°, and less of the substance m.p. 83—84°. Moreover, from (B), it was found possible to isolate an acid which after repeated crystallisations from methyl alcohol melted at 278°. This acid was insoluble in cold water and dilute acids and did not contain nitrogen.

*The petroleum ether extract residue* of the fresh plant obtained as before differed markedly from the one described above. While it contained the substance m.p. 83—84°, the substance melting at 129° could not be isolated at all. Instead from the fraction which was very soluble in alcohol, a new substance was isolated. This new substance was obtained as glistening rhombic plates or leaflets, m.p. 143°, after repeated crystallisation from methyl alcohol. It is almost insoluble in dilute acids, and alkalis. It does not contain nitrogen. (Found: C, 82.55; H, 17.6%). The analysis shows that the substance may be a hydrocarbon.

Chemical Laboratory  
Annamalai University,  
Dated 12—9—1934.

# Experiments on the Synthesis of peri-quinolinazol (N-N).

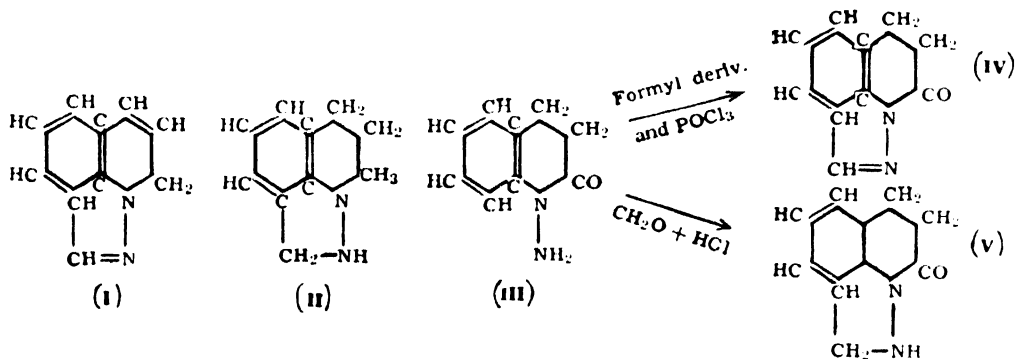
## PART I.

### Attempted Synthesis of tetrahydro-peri-quinolinazol (N-N).

By

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Peri-quinolinazol (N-N) (I) contains a fused quinoline and pyrazole nuclei. The formulae (I) shows that fusion has taken place in the peri-position of the quinoline and that two carbon atoms and one nitrogen atom are common to both the rings. If it were possible to get peri-quinolinazol (I) in good yield, then its chemistry could be developed much in the same manner as the chemistry of benzene or quinoline has been developed (although peri-quinolinazol would be much less stable substance and therefore difficult to work with). It was mainly with this object in view that the synthesis of tetrahydro-peri-quinolinazol (II) was attempted. The synthesis of such a compound has, moreover, an intrinsic interest of its own. Not a single compound of this type has yet been synthesised, although Ewins assumed the existence of such a structure in cytosine as early as 1913 (*J. C. S.*, 1913, 103, 97).

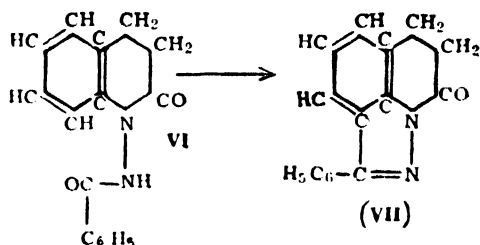


For synthesising tetrahydro-peri-quinolinazol, N-amino-dihydro-carbostyril (III) was prepared by a slight modification of the method of



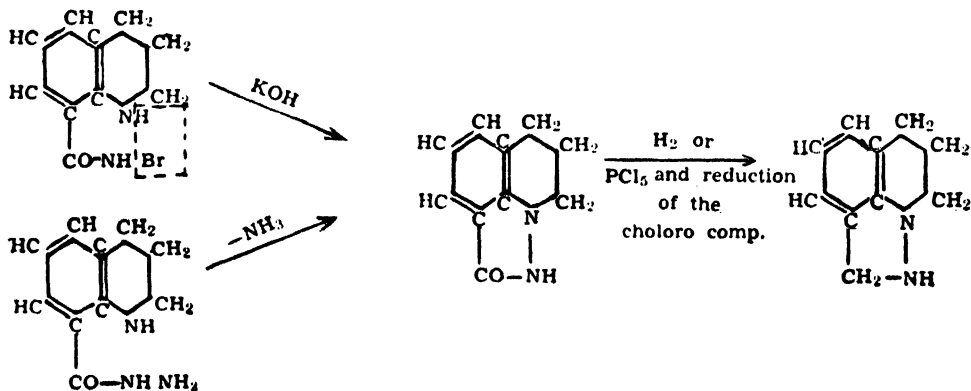
Emil Fischer (Annalen 1883, 221, 282) and converted into its formyl derivative. Attempts to convert the formyl derivative into (IV) by the action of phosphorus oxychloride or phosphorus pentoxide in boiling Xylene solution were unsuccessful (probably because under these conditions the  $\text{NH}_2$  group is knocked off from the molecule). Attempts to convert N-amino-dihydro-carbostyryl into (V) by the action of formaldehyde and subsequent treatment with hydrochloric acid, etc., under a variety of different conditions were unsuccessful.

Next N-amino-dihydro-carbostyryl (III) was converted into its benzoyl derivative (VI) as it was thought that, probably, it would be easier to cyclise (VI) to (VII). On treating the benzoyl derivative (VI)



with phosphorus oxychloride in the usual manner, a new substance was obtained, which, however, did not analyse for (VII). This substance is being further investigated.

Experiments are in progress to synthesise the compound in the following manner :—



This paper is being published in this incomplete stage as one of us (K. G.) is unable to continue this work.

*Experimental.*

*N-aminodihydrocarbostyryl (III).*

O-nitrocinnamic acid was prepared in the following manner :—

A mixture of O-nitrobenzalhyde (12 g.), malonic acid (16 g.), pyridine (25 c.c.), and piperidine (1 c.c.) was heated on the steam-bath for one hour and then boiled on the sand-bath for 10 minutes. On pouring it into excess of dilute hydrochloric acid, pure O-nitrocinnamic acid m.p. 242° was precipitated in almost theoretical yield.

O-nitrocinnamic acid was then reduced to O-aminocinnamic acid (Gabriel Ber., 1882, 15, 2294), and the latter converted into N-aminodihydrocarbostyryl by the method of Fischer and Kuzel (Annalen, 1883, 221, 282).

*Attempted cyclisation of the formyl derivative of (III).*

(i) *N-aminodihydrocarbostyryl* (2 g.), and formic acid (1 c.c.) were heated together in a test-tube in a paraffin-bath for three hours, the temperature being maintained between 180–200°. (Generally the reaction was complete in three hours, but at times it was observed that the reaction was not complete even on longer heating, and the formyl derivative itself seemed to undergo some decomposition.). The formyl derivative was dissolved in dry toluene (25 c.c.) and after the addition of phosphorus oxychloride (freshly distilled, 6 c.c.) the mixture was gently boiled in a reflux apparatus for an hour and a half, and then left overnight when a crystalline substance separated. Petroleum ether was then added, and the whole kept for sometime, and then the clear colourless liquid decanted off. The residue was dissolved in dilute hydrochloric acid, treated with animal charcoal, and the mixture boiled for 15 minutes and then filtered. From the filtrate on cooling clusters of golden yellow needles separated, which on repeated crystallisation from dilute hydrochloric acid, melted at 205–206°. (Found: C, 65.0, 65.19; H, 5.1, 5.7. Hydrochloride of IV requires C, 57.52; H, 4.31%.)

On dissolving the hydrochloride in water and treating it with concentrated ammonia, an oily base is precipitated which was immediately extracted with chloroform. The chloroform solution which is highly fluorescent, was dried, and the solvent removed. An oily residue is left which gives highly fluorescent solutions. This base has not yet been obtained in a crystalline state.

A dilute hydrochloric acid solution of the above base obtained from 3.5 g. of the aminodihydrocarbostyryl in the manner described above was reduced by heating with zinc dust on the water-bath for 3 hours, when the dark brown solution turned to light yellow colour. The solution was filtered hot from undissolved zinc, and the solution and washings made strongly alkaline with ammonia, and then extracted with chloroform. The chloroform solution was dried over potassium carbonate and on removing the solvent and crystallising the residue a substance m.p.  $163^{\circ}$  was obtained, which, probably, was identical with dihydrocarbostyryl as there was no depression when mixed melting point was taken with an authentic specimen of dihydrocarbostyryl. (Found: C, 72.81, 73.08; H, 6.2, 6.16. The substance (V)  $C_{10}H_{10}ON_2$  requires C, 63.2; H, 5.8. dihydrocarbostyryl  $C_9H_9ON$  requires C, 73.47; H, 6.1%.)

(ii) Attempts to convert the formyl derivative of (III) into (IV) by the action of phosphorus pentoxide in xylene solution under the usual conditions were unsuccessful.

*Condensation of N-aminodihydrocarbostyryl with formaldehyde.*

(i) Aminodihydrocarbostyryl (2.5 g.) dissolved in methyl alcohol (30 c.c.) was treated with sodium bicarbonate (2.5 g.), and to the mixture formaldehyde (10 c.c. of 40%) was gradually added under warming. After all the formaldehyde had been added, the mixture was heated for 15 minutes more with vigorous shakings. The mixture was then cooled, diluted with water, and the aqueous mixture saturated with sodium chloride, when an oily substance separated which was extracted with ether. The ether solution was washed with water and then the ether removed. The residue was dissolved in concentrated hydrochloric acid, and the solution heated on the water-bath for half an hour. On allowing the solution to cool, a gummy substance separated which could not be crystallised. On dissolving this substance in very dilute hydrochloric acid, and treating this solution with concentrated ammonium hydroxide, an amorphous powder was precipitated. This amorphous base was very sparingly soluble in benzene, and ether, but readily dissolved in methyl alcohol. It has not so far been possible to crystallise this substance.

(ii) The action of formaldehyde at the ordinary temperature was tried, but again only an amorphous product was obtained.

(iii) The base was then treated with methylal and hydrochloric acid under conditions similar to those recommended by Pictet and Gams (Ber., 1911, 44, 2484). On working up the product only amorphous and gummy substances were obtained.

(iv) To a mixture of formalin (2.5 c.c.) and water (1.5 c.c.) concentrated sulphuric acid (6 c.c.) was added all at once, when the temperature rose to 78—80° C. The hot mixture was added rapidly and with vigorous shaking to aminodihydrocarbostyryl (5 g.), dissolved in concentrated sulphuric acid. Then the whole mixture was heated for half an hour on the water-bath. On pouring the product into ice-water, a voluminous precipitate (A) was obtained. The substance (A) was fairly easily soluble in concentrated hydrochloric acid, acetic acid and methyl alcohol. It is almost insoluble in benzene and in petroleum ether. It is also insoluble in dilute hydrochloric acid. It has not been found possible to obtain it crystalline so far.

The acid mother liquors from (A) on being basified gave another basic substance.

*Benzoyl derivative of aminodihydrocarbostyryl and attempts to convert it into (VII).*

A solution of aminodihydrocarbostyryl (1 g.) in pyridine (10 c.c.) was treated with benzoyl chloride (.8 g.) and the mixture gently boiled in a reflux apparatus for 2 hours. Part of the pyridine was then removed under diminished pressure and the residue diluted with water, when the benzoyl derivative separates as an oil which sets to a mass of crystalline plates. The benzoyl derivative was agitated with very dilute acid, filtered and crystallised from dilute methyl alcohol. On repeated recrystallisations from dilute methyl alcohol it was obtained as plates m.p. 168.9°. (Found: C, 72.6; H, 5.5.  $C_{16}H_{14}O_2N_2$  requires C, 72.2; H, 5.3%.)

A solution of the benzoyl derivative (4.5 g.) in dry toluene (50 c.c.) and phosphorus oxychloride (freshly distilled, 20 c.c.) were gently refluxed together in a reflux apparatus for 1 hour, and the whole allowed to remain overnight, when a crystalline substance separated. Petroleum ether was added to the product, and after a few hours the supernatant liquid was decanted off. The solid residue was repeatedly extracted with dilute hydrochloric acid, and the combined extracts boiled for an hour with animal charcoal and filtered. On basifying the filtrate with ammonia, a yellow precipitate is thrown down, which after repeated crystallisations from petroleum ether is obtained in needles, m.p. 212°. (Found: C, 81.5; H, 4.65.  $C_{16}H_{12}ON_2$  requires C, 77.4; H, 4.8%.)

*Quinoline-8-carboxylic acid.* Quinoline-8-carboxylic acid which has previously been obtained by other methods, is best prepared by the following method:—To a solution of 8-methyl quinoline (10 g.) in

dilute hydrochloric acid was added a solution of Chromium trioxide (30 g.) in 30% sulphuric acid solution (140 c.c.) and the mixture heated for 5 days. The mixture was then cooled and diluted with water when much of the acid was precipitated. The precipitate was filtered, washed carefully and then dissolved in sodium carbonate solution. On making the solution just acid, Quinoline-8-carboxylic acid separated in a crystalline form (6.5 g.). It crystallised from benzene in needles, m.p. 187°.

A further quantity of the acid (about 1 g.) could be obtained in the following manner :—

The first sulphuric acid mother liquor is made alkaline with ammonia, and the precipitated chromium hydroxide removed by filtration. The filtrate is then treated with just enough barium hydroxide to remove all the sulphate. The filtrate from barium sulphate, together with the washings, is evaporated to dryness, and the residue extracted with benzene. The benzene extract is filtered, dried over sodium sulphate and then concentrated to a small volume when quinoline-8-carboxylic acid crystallises out.

The quinoline-carboxylic acid was then reduced to the corresponding tetrahydro-quinoline carboxylic acid by means of tin and hydrochloric acid (Tafel, Ber., 1894, 27, 825) and experiments are in progress to convert the tetrahydro-quinoline-8-carboxylic acid to (II).

# Jagannātha Paṇḍita

BY

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(Continued from page 116. Vol. III No. I)

## (3) AS A LITERARY CRITIC

*Rasagaṅgādhara—a work on Literary Criticism*

*Introduction.*—Jagannātha's *Rasagaṅgādhara* is perhaps the last original and independent work on Sanskrit Poetics. In conformity with a pun in the word 'gaṅgādhara' in title, the work was apparently planned to consist of five chapters (Ānānas) of which we have now got in print only one complete and another incomplete chapter. In it the author endeavours to harmonize the old poetical theories with the new currents of thought. It is, in other words, an attempt at re-thinking and re-establishing the old views and as such, marks a revival in the field of literary criticism.

*Jagannātha's qualification as a Literary Critic*

The introductory stanzas in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* form a fitting prelude to the independence of his arguments and theories of which our author has made a fair display in this work. His qualifications for this task are, as he says, that he had his scholastic training under his well-known father Perubhaṭṭa, whose sportive glances make even stones shed nectar 'पाषाणादपि पीयूषं स्यन्दते यस्य लीलया' (R. G. Verse 3); and that he is fully confident that he reaped the maximum advantage from his father's instruction and training. His innate independence in the treatment of the subject-matter in poetics, his harmonization of some of the old theories with the new ones, his argumentation of those theories in a logical method and above all, his own original apt illustrations—these—echo and reverberate the polemical yet conclusive, pessimistic yet self-confident sentiments of the famous poet-critic Bhāvaabhūti in his *Mālati-Mādhava* :—

‘ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ।  
उत्पत्स्यते मम तु कोऽपि समानधर्मा कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी॥’

[*Mālati-Mādhava*. Act I. Prologue—V. 6]

In his *Rasagaṅgādhara*, Jagannātha is just like a pilot in the midst of the ocean of knowledge, steering his boat of wide, logical and argumentative thoughts and finally reaching his destination of literary appreciation and true interpretation of poetry. (R. G. Verse 5). His comparison of himself to the Mandara Mountain that churned the milky ocean in the midst of waves and confusions caused by the aquatic animals bespeaks the imperturbable nature of the man. His extraordinary independence in quoting his own poetry for suitable illustrations and his disregard for other's verses look like the impregnable power of the musk-deer to produce *kastūri*, when she naturally looks down in contempt at the lovely and odourous flowers. (R. G. Verse 6.) Diving deep in the troubled waters of logical arguments and refutations, Jagannātha has gained and exhibited to the highly cultured public—*Sahṛdayas*—the jewel of *Rasagaṅgādhara*, which is capable of illuminating the human mind and removing completely the pride of some of his rival Rhetoricians. (R. G. Verse 4.)

#### *His Definition of Kāvya*

The first topic Jagannātha takes up for elucidation in his *Rasagaṅgādhara*, is the definition of poetry. He defines poetry as 'रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः शब्दः काव्यम्'—'sound expressing beautiful ideas' and thus reminds us of Daṇḍin's definition of *Kāvyaśarira*—'इष्टार्थव्यवच्छिन्नपदावलिः' (*Kāvyaadarśa*—1, 10) 'a group of words expressing pleasing ideas.' Poetic charm (*रमणीयता*) arises from an idea which causes impersonal pleasure (*लोकोत्तराह्लाद*) to trained and cultured people (*Sahṛdayas*). This pleasure is of a peculiar kind not commonly met with in life. When a man is told 'a son is born to you' or 'you have come into a fortune', he derives great pleasure; but this is of the personal kind and, therefore, no poetic charm is to be found in these sentences.

#### *Other Definitions Criticised*

The definition of poetry is one of the vexed problems of literary criticism, and in it Jagannātha, the last original writer on Sanskrit Poetics, rises up to the point of levelling vehement criticisms against the theories of some of his predecessors. No doubt he is a master of all works on poetics available in his time, and he closely follows the tenets of the most important schools headed by Daṇḍin and Ānandavardhana, because of his firm, logical conviction and not merely from blind imitation. It is in this respect that he harmonizes the old theories with the new currents of thought. In the description of *Kāvyaśarira*, whether sound (*śabda*) and sense (*Artha*) constitute *Kāvya* or Sound alone, is a disputed question among the ancient and modern literary critics. Mam-

maṭa Bhaṭṭa in his Kāvyaaprakāśa expressly says ‘शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम्’—that both sound and sense constitute kāvya. Against this Jagannātha advances an adverse criticism. His mere reference to the experiences of Sahṛdayas (cultured men) that ‘kāvya is read aloud’; ‘from kāvya meaning is understood’; ‘Kāvya is heard but meaning is not known’—would convince us that the import of the term kāvya is only Śabda (sound) and not Artha (sense). And there are no valid universal experiences ‘विश्वजनीनव्यवहाराः’ (as Jagannātha puts it) capable of proving that both sound and sense are the primary meaning of the term—Kāvya. In a similar strain he launches into a tirade against those who believed in the Rasa-doctrine of Literary criticism (Rasava-deva kāvyam). According to Jagannātha, any expression that becomes the real source of æsthetic pleasure is kāvya, be it suggestive of Rasa, of Bhāva, of Vastu, or of Alaṅkāra. The presence of poetic merits, the absence of poetic blemishes, the abundance of poetic embellishments also are not recognised as characteristics of poetry, though these help much to beautify poetry.

*Jagannātha's view on Pratibhā—Mammaṭabhāṭṭa's view Criticised*

Among his other important and original contributions, his exposition of Pratibhā and of a poet's sole reliance upon that Pratibhā, is worth mentioning. Even before Jagannātha, Rudraṭa and others have spoken elaborately on this topic. Rudraṭa defines Pratibhā thus :—

‘मनसि सदा सुसमाधिनि विस्फुरणमनेकधा अभिधा ।  
अक्लिष्टानि च पदानि विभान्ति यस्यामसौ शक्तिः ॥’

(Kāvyaālaṅkāra, Adhyāya 1, Verse 15.)

Bhaṭṭatauta says :—‘प्रज्ञानवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभामता’॥ (Kāvyaakautuka ?)

Abhinavagupta develops the same in his Locana :— प्रतिभा अपूर्ववस्तु-  
निर्माणसमा प्रज्ञा । (p. 29) शक्तिः प्रतिभानं वर्णनीयवस्तुविषयनूतनोल्लेखशालित्वम् ।  
(p. 137, N. S. Ed.)

This Pratibhā is identified with Śakti by all these critics. Bhartr̥hari calls it an instinct of man. Only Rājaśekhara labours to find out some difference between Śakti and Pratibhā. He says :— ‘शक्तिशब्दश्चायं प्रतिभाने उपचरितः’ (Kāvya-mimāṃsā. Adhyāya VI, p. 16. G. O. S.) Śakti is the root-cause of Pratibhā. The instinctive power of human beings to learn and appreciate beautiful objects is the root-cause of the imagination of the poets. Jagannātha does not labour much



in explaining the import of the word, Pratibhā. He follows simply the popular definition : ‘ नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी बुद्धिः ’

Jagannātha is very particular in saying that Pratibhā is the only indispensable factor in all cases of good and genuine poetry. In this point he criticises Mammāṭabhaṭṭa, the author of the Kāvya-prakāśa, who says ‘ शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणात् ।

काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाऽभ्यास इतिहेतुस्तदुद्भवे ॥ ’

(Kāvya-prakāśa. I Ullāsa. Kārikā 3.)

that śakti, otherwise known as Pratibhā, Vyutpatti and Abhyāsa—these three together constitute the real cause of poetry. This view is completely refuted by Jagannātha on the evidence of clear facts. He lays more stress on Pratibhā which is the only cause of poetry in cases of all good poets. This fact will be clear when the sources or causes of this Pratibhā are explained. Jagannātha cites two clear instances of Pratibhā where the nature of Pratibhā is different according to the different causes—

‘ देवतामहापुरुषप्रसादादिजन्यादृष्टम् ’ and ‘ विलक्षणव्युत्पत्त्यभ्यासौ ’

He says that there are certain poets who have been inspired by *Īśvara-prasāda* (Divine blessing) as in the case of Mūka-kavi in whom we do not find Vyutpatti and Abhyāsa. Similarly there are many who have become poets after great labour like Māgha who are, no doubt, authors of deep erudition and experience. In the former case the poet's Pratibhā is the result of Devatāprasāda while in the latter it results from the author's Vyutpatti and Abhyāsa. Hence in all cases of poetry, Pratibhā is indispensable and all others—Vyutpatti, Abhyāsa, Devatāprasāda, etc., are only accessories.

#### *His Fourfold Classification of Kāvya*

Jagannātha's next important contribution is the classification of Kāvya. Traditionally we have a three-fold classification—Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. This classification may look all right on the surface, but when we group instances of some of the beautiful Guṇibhūta-vyaṅgyas like—

‘ अनुरागवती सन्ध्या दिवसस्तपुरस्सरः ।

अहो ! दैवगतिः कीदृक् तथापि न समागमः ॥ ’

under the Madhyama variety and instances of ordinary Vastudhvani—

‘ सुवर्णपुष्पां पृथिवीं चिन्वन्ति पुरुषास्त्रयः ।

शूरश्च कृतविद्यश्च यश्च जानाति सेवितुम् ॥ ’

under the Uttama variety, we commit a great mistake. A true Sahṛdaya is sure to realize the beautiful Pathos contained in the stanza ‘अनुरागवती सन्ध्या’ etc., though it is a little affected by the prominence of Vācyārtha (primary sense) in such an equal degree (if not more) as it would do in other instances. So also the treatment of Citrakāvya of Arthālaṅkāras and Śabdālaṅkāras in one and the same manner and grouping them under the main variety of Adhama, are wholly unscientific, for, many instances of Samāsokti, Aprastuta-praśaṁsā, etc., stand on a par with good and genuine specimens of poetry in that they are real sources of poetic charm.

Jagannātha has fully realised this incongruous and unsatisfactory nature of the traditional classification of Kāvya. He has, therefore, improved upon it by suggesting one more variety—*Uttamottama*—which comprises all genuine types of Dhvani (the Rasa and Bhāva dhvanis). The Uttama covers the ordinary Vastudhvanis (like सुवर्णपुष्पां) along with some of the beautiful varieties of Guṇībhūta Vyaṅgya like ‘अनुरागवती सन्ध्या’ which he describes as the chief source of pleasure though enslaved, by a fitting analogy— ‘दुर्दैववशतो दास्यमनुभवद्राजकलत्रमिव’ (just like a queen experiencing utter servitude by misfortune) (Rasagaṅgādhara. N. S. Ed. p. 17). Similarly, he places some of the best types of Citrakāvyas where Samāsokti and such other Arthālaṅkāras beautify the primary sense, under the *Madhyama* variety, while some minor Arthālaṅkāra Kāvyas and the best types of Śabdālaṅkāra Kāvyas are grouped under the Adhama varieties. Finally, he lays down *camatkāra* as a great principle in the classification of Kāvya and regards those of Kāvyas that possess no beauty in sense except in verbal puns and alliterations as having no poetic beauty at all.

*His Rasa-sūtra—a paraphrase of Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata's Rasa-sūtra*

Jagannātha's Rasa-sūtra is the next important part in his *Rasagaṅgādhara*. There the author explains most of the interpretations of Bharata's Rasa-sūtra, as given by his predecessors, and he finally follows the interpretation of Abhinavagupta. It is, therefore, a more-or-less verbatim paraphrase of Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Rasa-sūtra. According to Abhinavagupta, Rasa-realisation comes only to a Sāmājika. Among those who have commented on Bharata's Rasa-sūtra before Abhinavagupta, only Bhaṭṭanāyaka has explained the fact that mental impressions or Vāsanās, would be stripped of their individualistic aspects by the Bhāvakatva Vyāpāra peculiar to a genuine Kāvya. (See Bhaṭṭanāyaka below). This is further elaborated and systematised by Abhinavagupta as a vital point in Rasa-realisation.

*Rasa-realisation, according to Abhinavagupta  
and Jagannātha Paṇḍitā*

Rasas are said to be nothing but the mental impressions of the Sāmājikas, when they become intensified. They are divested of all their individualistic aspects or characteristics by the *alaukika kāvya-vyāpāra—vyañjanā*—and in this sense they stand rather unique quite apart from the ordinary impressions. These are realised by *Pramātā*, the Inner Self, the Knower who is said to be a Self-luminous Consciousness. In the realisation of Rasa by the Sāmājikas, Abhinavagupta adds, there is complete absorption (चित्तनिष्पन्दन) in the Sāmājika's mind, which is a blissful condition in its *negative* aspect. Here Abhinavagupta and other Ālaṅkārikas follow the Sāṅkhya conception of *kaivalya* which is described to be *complete cessation from all activities*. This negative aspect of bliss in Rasa-realisation solves very well the great problem in connection with the Karuṇa Sentiment (Pathos). How Karuṇa (pathos) becomes a real source of literary charm is a question of vital importance that has puzzled all the intellects of the world. The Western critics, though they consider tragedies as sources of aesthetic pleasure, have not yet successfully explained how pathos which would generate sorrow and grief in the spectators, becomes a real source of literary appeal. Abhinavagupta's explanation by the introduction of the Sāṅkhya conception of *Kaivalya* is somewhat satisfactory. But later Ālaṅkārikas after Abhinavagupta whom Jagannātha also follows, explain this problem with a reference to the positive aspect of Rasa-realisation. The soul is said to be, as Vedantins hold, Eternal Consciousness and Supreme Happiness in itself. (सच्चिदानन्द आत्मा ; सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म; नित्यं विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म ॥) Whatever is lovable must be blissful and nobody can love a thing which is quite inimical to his soul. To mankind the most lovable thing is the soul and as such it is the most blissful object that can be conceived of. The Ātman's very nature is "Bliss," "the Supreme Consciousness" and "Happiness." Now when the mental impressions in the intensified and generalised *alaukika* form are presented to the soul, the veil of *āvaraṇa* is lifted up and the blissful Ātman is realised in the realisation of the Sthāyibhāva—Rati, Śoka, etc. This realisation is called *svarūpa-sukha*, which is considered to be the highest Bliss conceivable. In this way the later Ālaṅkārikas including Jagannātha sought to explain the blissful Rasa-realisation (of all sthāyibhāvas) in the *positive element* itself, accepting the theory of *svarūpa-sukha*, of the self-luminous consciousness, the Ātman, the greatest blissful state conceivable. This is explained in the latter part of Jagannātha's Rasa-sūtra—

प्रमुष्टपरिमित-  
प्रमादत्वादिनिजधर्मेण प्रमात्रा स्वप्रकाशतया वास्तवेन निजस्वरूपानन्देन सह गो-

चरीक्रियमाणः प्राग्विनिविष्टवासनरूपो रत्यादिरेव रसः ॥ (Here निजस्वरूपानन्द means आत्मस्वरूपसुख) (Rasagaṅgādhara, N. S. Ed. P. 22).

This .Pramātā cannot always absorb himself in his self-luminous bliss when he is chained. The inner self has for a moment to rise above all the individualistic features like egotism. This will be brought about by the removal of the veil of ignorance (Avidyā) which completely cancels the *svarūpa-sukha*. This removal can be effected by the Alaukika vyāpāra, which is again a result of a suitable combination of the three elements in Kāvya—Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas. These three are called in a kāvyā *alaukika*, in the following way :— When we say that Śakuntalā is the Ālambana Vibhāva of Duṣyanta's love we should not consider her as the bride of Duṣyanta—that individual aspect is to vanish from the Sāmājika's mind—but as a lovely figure painted before the Sāmājikas in a universal form. If the individualistic aspect does not vanish, she ceases to be the Ālambana Vibhāva ; (so also the others.) For such a universalised impression of these Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, etc., upon the Sāmājika's mind, the masterly hand of the poet-artist is mainly responsible ; also the successful acting of the play by an expert actor who impersonates the chief characters ; and also the scenic arrangements, dancing, music, etc., which have very much to do with the successful performance of a drama.

#### *Other Interpreters on the Rasa-sūtra of Bharata*

Jagannātha, after explaining his and Abhinavagupta's views on Rasa-realisation, gives a succinct summary of the view of Bhaṭṭanāyaka who, as an elder contemporary of Abhinavagupta, is believed to have criticised in his Hṛdayadarpaṇa Ānandavardhana's doctrine of Dhvani. Though his work has not yet seen the light of day, his exposition of the Rasa-doctrine on the basis of Bharata's Rasa-sūtra is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī and Locana, which later critics have copied with or without verbal modification.

Before Bhaṭṭanāyaka came Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa and Śrīśaṅkuka whose interpretations of Bharata's Rasa-sūtra Abhinavagupta and his successors have given in their works. Though Jagannātha has not explained them it is necessary to reproduce them here for a better understanding of the subject.

#### *Bhaṭṭalollaṭa's View of Rasotpatti.*

Of those who have commented on Bharata's Rasa-sūtra 'विभावानुभावमिचारि संयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः.' Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa comes first and his inter-

pretation of the sūtra as given in the Abhinavabhārati and other works may be thus briefly stated: Rasa is nothing but the sthāyibhāva—permanent mental condition—intensified by Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas; the word ‘निष्पत्ति’ in the sūtra means ‘उत्पत्ति’ generation, in reference to vibhāvas; अनुमिति inference in reference to anubhāvas and पुष्टि—nourishment in reference to vyabhicāribhāvas; i.e., by the vibhāvas the sthāyibhāvas are generated; by the anubhāvas they are inferred (by others) and by the vyabhicāribhāvas they are nourished; similarly the word ‘संयोग—in the compound—विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगात्’ is taken by him in the sense of these three ideas—generation, inference and nourishment which constitute the relation of the vibhāvas, the anubhāvas and the vyabhicāribhāvas to the sthāyibhāva. So if the sthāyin is intensified, it is Rasa and if it is not, it is a bhāva.

This view has got the support of Daṇḍin, an earlier Ālaṅkārika of eminence—

‘रतिः शृङ्गारतां याता रूपवाहृत्ययोगतः ।

आरुह्य च परां कोटिं कोपो रौद्रत्वमागतः ॥’

(Kāvyaḍarśa.)

‘Śṛṅgāra is nothing but Rati (love) magnified through the combination of so many elements (vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas). Raudra is but anger intensified to its highest pitch.’

#### *Defects in Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa's View*

This Rasotpatti-vāda of Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa is criticised by Śrīsaṅkuka, his successor, as follows:—(1) If Rasa is only the intensified sthāyibhāva, then one has to accept various degrees of intensity according to different persons who realise Rasa; and (even in a less degree of intensity) one has to say one has realised Rasa. On the other hand, it is conceded by critics that the true Rasa-realisation of a Sahṛdaya has no such distinction of degrees. Moreover, as the degrees of intensity are varied, a good number of varieties under each Rasa is to be accepted. So Bharata's division of hāsyarasa into six and Śṛṅgāra into ten avasthās would have no significance. (2) It is not possible to say that in all instances sthāyibhāva is intensified. Śoka, for example, the sthāyibhāva of Karuṇa Rasa, is always by itself a strong feeling and it slowly languishes by lapse of time and by other conditions. (3) If Rasa is generated by the causes like the vibhāvas, etc., then it ceases to be *alaukika* and it stands on a par with *laukikarasānubhava* which may look even obscene and coarse.

(4) The important question—who realises Rasa ?—is not scientifically tackled by Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa. If it is accepted that the Sāmājika realises it, the great question comes—how can the causes that exist in the actor, generate pleasure in the spectator ?—since the cause and the effect have to exist simultaneously in one and the same person. So he has to say that it is an invalid perception culminating in the realisation of unalloyed pleasure.

*Śrīsaṅkuka's View of Rasānumiti.*

On these grounds Śrīsaṅkuka rejects Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa's interpretation and gives his own theory of *Rasānumiti*. According to Śrīsaṅkuka, a cultured spectator while witnessing in a dramatic performance the successful imitation of the characters and their experiences by an expert actor, identifies the actor with the character whom the actor personates and he is led to infer the permanent emotions of the character—sthāyibhāvas as existing in the actor. This inference is said to be the source of the spectator's pleasure. This inferential knowledge, for example—

‘रामोऽयं सीताविषयकरतिमान् सीतादिविभावादिमत्त्वात्’

has got the actor as *pakṣa* (the minor term), the Vibhāvas, etc., as *hetu* (the middle term) and love and other sthāyibhāvas as *sādhya* (the minor term). The experience of the spectator ‘रामोऽयम्’, Śaṅkuka describes, does not come under the well-known divisions of cognitions and as such, it is to be accepted as a new variety; and it is, he explains, similar to the experience one has while looking at the picture of a horse— चित्रतुरग ; that is, when we look at a good-coloured picture of the horse, it seems to us galloping and we attribute to it, for a while at least, all the qualities of the real horse ; so also the spectator when he is absorbed in the successful imitation of certain deeds of the original character by the actor, identifies the latter with the former so long as his absorption lasts ; and he considers that the actor possesses all the qualities of the original character. The citra-turaga example emphasizes one more point, viz., that the sthāyibhāva like love in the actor is only a semblance (*anukāra*) of the love of the original character. If it were not so, Śaṅkuka contends, Bharata would have said ‘स्थायि-निष्पत्तिः’ : instead of ‘रसनिष्पत्तिः’ in the *Rasa-sūtra*. So the semblance of love when inferred from the vibhāvas etc., is Rasa like Śrīgāra ; and the inference ‘रामोऽयं सीताविषयकरतिमान्’ for example, which has got the semblance of love as the *sādhya* is known as the spectator's realisation of Rasa which gives him great pleasure. So, according to Śaṅkuka, the word ‘संयोग’ in the *sūtra* means व्याप्यव्यापकभाव—the relation between the vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas

(the middle term) on the one hand and Rasa (the major term) on the other ; the word ‘स्थायिनः’ is to be inserted in the sūtra; and the compound ‘रसनिष्पत्तिः’ means रसत्वेन निष्पत्तिः अनुसन्धानम् (meditation). So the meaning of the sūtra is, therefore, that through the relation viz., व्याप्यव्यापकभाव between the vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas on the one hand and Rasas on the other, the sthāyibhāva is inferred as existing in the actor ; that this sthāyibhāva, otherwise known as Rasa, is incessantly meditated upon by the spectator, when he is said to be in the supreme state of the Realisation of Rasa or *Rasa-carvaṇā*.

### Main Objections—Answered

The explanation of Rasānubhava as *Rasānumiti* and *Rasa-carvaṇā* answers well two objections that are generally raised against it. One objection is that the knowledge of the spectator—रामोऽयम्—in the actor is to be called an invalid cognition, since the spectator mistakes the actor for the original character on the successful imitation of the latter by the former. This is well answered by the fact that a valid inferential knowledge can arise from an invalid cognition of the *hetu* (the middle term) as explained above, just as the valid inference—‘पर्वतो वह्निमान्’ arises from the invalid perception of the column of the smoke at the sight of the column of dust. The other objection is—how does the inferential knowledge of the spectator give him pleasure ? This also is answered by Śrīsaṅkuka very easily : no doubt, the inferential cognitions we have in the world are not sources of pleasure ; yet, the *Kāvya-numiti*—the inference in kāvya, which possesses charming sthāyibhāvas as its *viṣaya*—is a fountain of joy and delight. He argues that the capacity to create delight or sorrow does not depend upon the nature of the cognition but upon the object of it ; and so the sthāyibhāvas while inferred from the middle term—the charming alaukika vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas—possess an exquisite charm and as such, are capable of generating delight in the spectator.

It may be observed here that the *Rasānumitivāda* as explained by Śrīsaṅkuka was the model for the *anumiti theory* of Mahimabhaṭṭa, the exponent of one of the anti-dhvani schools.

### Bhaṭṭatauta’s Criticism of Śaṅkuka’s *Rasānumitivāda*

If Bhaṭṭa-lollaṭa’s *Rasotpattivāda* was criticised by Śrīsaṅkuka, Śrīsaṅkuka’s *Rasānumitivāda* also has been refuted by later writers of whom probably the earliest is Bhaṭṭatauta (one of the teachers of Abhi-

navagupta and the author of the *Kāvyakautuka*) whose views are summarised by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. One of the many objections against the *Rasānumitivāda* is this: if, according to Śaṅkuka, the emotion inferred as existing in the actor be an *anukāra*—semblance—in the sense of an imitation of the emotion of the original character, it should be such either (1) from the standpoint of the spectator, or (2) from that of the actor, or (3) from both. None of these alternatives can be satisfactorily explained. It is accepted at all hands that every case of imitation has to satisfy two conditions—(1) the previous experience of the original—the object imitated and (2) the on-looker's experience of the imitator as possessing some attributes similar to those in the object imitated. Neither the actor, nor the spectator, has experienced the emotions of the characters, say, the love of Rāma to Sītā, either in this birth or in any one of his previous births. Nor can it be satisfactorily explained that the actor possesses the same mental conditions of the original characters in the play, though he puts on the artificial costumes to produce an impression on the audience that he is the character himself. The main difference between the emotions of the actor and the character, Bhaṭṭatauta says, can be best described by the terms *jaḍa* and *ajaḍa* respectively. This is the main charge against the *Rasānumiti* theory. Some more objections like the impossibility of the अनुकारानुमिति are also explained by Bhaṭṭatauta and his successors.

Though Bhaṭṭatauta criticises the view of Śrīśaṅkuka, he does not, however, give his own interpretation of the *Rasa-sūtra*. Most probably what Abhinavagupta has explained might have been based on the interpretation of Bhaṭṭatauta.

#### *Bhaṭṭanāyaka's view of Rasabhukti*

Next comes Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka, the elder contemporary of Abhinavagupta. His interpretation, as Jagannātha gives under his *Rasa-sūtra*, may be thus summarised: both the theories of *Rasotpatti* and *Rasānumiti* are untenable in that they suffer from a common defect that the permanent emotions or *sthāyibhāvas* are described by both the schools as existing in the actor or in the original character, and not in the spectator who must be considered by all as the Realiser of *Rasa*. Moreover, he has no *Vibhāvas*—the generating agents of the *Rasapratīti*—without which no *rasa*-realisation takes place in the spectator. So he expounds his theory of *Rasabhukti* by the spectator. He speaks of three *Vyāpāras* in a *kāvya*—(1) *abhidhā* or *abhidhāyakatva*, (2) *bhāvanā* or *bhāvakatva* and (3) *bhoga* or *bhojakatva*. The *abhidhā* is common to the *kāvya* and *loka*,



and its function is to convey ideas like the love of couples like Sītā and Rāma. The bhāvanā is peculiar to the kāvya in that it strips off the individual characteristics of the characters, viz., Sītā is cognised not as the wife of Rāma but as a lovely maiden (कान्ता) only ; so also Rāma, the ālambanavibhāva ; and similarly the Uddīpana-vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāribhāvas all of which are presented to the spectator's mind in a generalised form. Then by the Bhogavyāpāra the spectator completely forgets his own individual traits on account of the two guṇas of the mind, *rajas* and *tamas*, completely suppressed by the other guṇa, *sattva*, the preponderance of which produces illumination of the mind and happiness to man. Here Bhaṭṭanāyaka has closely followed the Sāṅkhya philosophy which explains the mind as a compound of three guṇas—*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, the preponderance of *sattva* giving illumination, that of *rajas*, *unsteadiness* and that of *tamas*, *inactivity*. This enjoyment of *Rasa* by the spectator is impersonal in character and so is different from the enjoyment of pleasure in the outside world. It is also different from that of a yogin who sees Ātman only. Still the spectator's pleasure is described as an approach to the Ātmānanda of the yogin. According to this view the word ' निष्पत्तिः ' in the sūtra means *bhukti*—enjoyment.

### Navyas' View

After the elucidation of Bhaṭṭanāyaka's view Jagannātha takes up the view of the 'Navyas'. The Navyas do not accept the function of kāvya—generalisation (साधारणीकरणम्) ; but they consider *sahṛdayatva* as a defect (दोष) in the spectator, which makes him, while witnessing a play, mediate upon the original character and identify himself with the latter, so much so that there arises in him for a while an *anirvacanīya* pleasure (just like the *anirvacanīya* silver on the nacre). This is called the realisation of *Rasa*. It lasts so long as his meditation (भाषना) continues. The propounders of this view, however, accept the *vyañjanā* vyāpāra which, they say, suggests to the spectator through the vibhāvas, anubhāvas etc., described in the play, the love of the hero to the heroine and kindles his *sahṛdayatvadoṣa* to action which leads him to the identification of himself with the character and to the blissful realisation of *Rasa*.

The objection how an *anirvacanīya rati* or *śoka* gives pleasure or sorrow, is answered by this school of critics by the explanation that there is a great difference between the world and literature ; and that in literature, the *anirvacanīya* love or grief produces only pleasure in the spectator, whether in the world, that would result or not in real love or grief

to the person concerned. That is the greatness, they say, of literature which affords pleasure to all alike through the extraordinary power—*Vyañjanā*—‘अयम् हि लोकोत्तरस्य काव्यव्यापारस्य महिमः, यत्प्रयोज्या भरमणीया अपि शोकादयः पदार्था आह्लादमलौकिकं जनयन्ति । विलक्षणा हि कमनीयः काव्यव्यापारजः आस्वादः प्रमाणान्तरजादनुभवात्’ ॥

(Rasagāṅādhara N. S. Ed. P. 26.)

### Other Views

After the Navya view Jagannātha deals with many other views in the interpretation of the *Rasasūtra*, which are of minor importance. The exponents of some of these views do not accept the *vyañjanā* vyāpāra and *anirvacanīya khyāti* in poetry. The spectator, on witnessing the successful personation of the ālambanavibhāvas like Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā by an expert actor, identifies himself with the original character—Duṣyanta—in his love with Śakuntalā, and this identification gives him a thrill of pleasure. They also emphasize that such an identification would not result in the ordinary world in the realisation of Rasa.

‘*Śānta*’ as a separate Rasa and ‘*Bhakti*’ as a bhāva only

In his long discussion of various aspects of Rasas, their mutual agreeableness and disagreeableness etc., in a Kāvya, Jagannātha establishes the distinct aspect of Śānta sentiment on the lines enunciated by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. He also draws special attention to the fact how possibly Bhakti can be called a separate Sthāyibhāva or Rasa, if Śrīgāra is so. To this he does not give any satisfactory solution. He suggests on the authority of Bharatamuni and other eminent literary critics, that Bhakti is only a bhāva and not a Rasa, when it has reference to Īśvara ; in other words, Rati is called a sthāyibhāva or Rasa when it has reference to a lovely damsel while it is only a bhāva (emotion) when it has reference to God.

### Virodha and Avirodha in Rasas

In the question of the combination of the various agreeable and disagreeable Rasas in a literary work, he is a close follower of the *aucitya* dictum as enunciated by Ānandavardhana which is closely followed and systematised by Kṣemendra—

“ अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसमङ्गस्य कारणम् ।  
प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत्परा ॥ ”

(Dhvanyāloka, Udyota III, N. S. Ed. P. 145.)

Aucitya is nothing but the *propriety and adaptability* of various elements in a Kāvya. Here Jagannātha makes rather a rough analysis how Rasas can be harmoniously blended. He suggests the possibility of the happy combinations of Vira and Śṛṅgāra, Vira and Adbhuta, Vira and Raudra, Śṛṅgāra and Adbhuta, and Śṛṅgāra and Hāsyā. But he does not sanction under ordinary circumstances the combinations of Śṛṅgāra and Bībhatsa, Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa, Vira and Bhayānaka, Śānta and Raudra, and Śānta and Śṛṅgāra. But we have generally seen the happy admixture of Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa, sometimes most of the Rasas are delineated to heighten the main sentiment as in Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava. This depends mainly upon the masterly skill of the artist-poet.

In this connection Jagannātha explains the probability of disagreeableness of two or more Rasas in a Kāvya, (i) if one hero is delineated to be the *Ālambana Vibhāva* of two opposing Rasas—Vira and Bhayānaka, etc.; or (ii) if the realisation of one Rasa obstructs the realisation of the other, (because the two Rasas are diametrically opposite to each other). (i) In the first instance Jagannātha answers that the disagreeableness can well merge into agreeableness when the two Rasas are delineated in two different *Ālambana Vibhāvas*: e.g., Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, is described to be a character of ideal heroism (Vira) and his heroism is more exemplified when he is described as the destroyer of Rāvaṇa, the counter-hero (प्रतिनायक) who is created as the very personation and cause of terror (Bhaya). Here the delineation of Vira and Bhayānaka Rasas in two different *Ālambana Vibhāvas* solves to a great extent the question of their disagreeableness. (ii) Again when in the delineation of two rasas opposite to each other another Rasa intervenes, as in the case of the delineation of Adbhuta between two opposite Rasas—Śānta and Śṛṅgāra, the disagreeableness of these two sentiments is not felt as in ordinary instances. Here Jagannātha cites a concrete instance from his *Ākhyāyikā* (probably the *Yamunā-varṇanākhyāyikā*, which is now lost to us): there at the outset, the saintly qualities of Sage Śvetaketu at the hermitage of Kaṇva are described so as to impress on the reader's mind the elements of calmness and serenity, dissociation from temporal pleasures and final renunciation—Śānti. At the end of this, the element of wonder is strikingly suggested by the passage—

‘किमिदमनाकलितपूर्वं रूपम्; कोऽयमनिर्वाच्यो वचनरशनाया मधुरिमा ॥  
(Rasagaṅgādhara. p. 47.)

“what a figure is this which has not yet come within human comprehension; extraordinary sweetness does (his) speech possess.” After

this comes a beautiful description of the damsel *varavarṇinī*, who is made by the poet as the object of love in the story.

Similarly through the intervention of Virarasa, in the admixture of Śṛṅgāra and Bibhatsa in a Kāvya, there is no room for the disagreeableness of the two opposite Rasas.

### *Guṇas and their Relation to Rasa*

The next important topic in the Rasagaṅgādhara is the discussion of Guṇas—poetic merits. Guṇas are merits in poetry when they are conducive through the Saṅghaṭanā or combination of select letters, words and phrases even to the development of a Rasa. Or Saṅghaṭanās rest in the poetic merits both of sense and sound and they, when revealing the sweetness, lucidity, vigour or such other characteristics of these poetic merits, reveal or suggest fully to the readers the developed Rasas—Śṛṅgāra, Vira or other—as the case may be. This is what Ānandavardhana has propounded (in the third Udyota of his Dhvanyāloka) about the Guṇas and Saṅghaṭanās in a Kāvya, in the following verse :—

‘ गुणानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ती माधुर्यादीन्व्यनक्ति सा ।

रसांस्तन्मियमे हेतुरौचित्यं वक्तृवाच्ययोः ॥’

Dhvanyāloka. Udyota III, Kārikā 6 (p. 134.)

And he emphasises that the principle of *Aucitya* in both *Vaktā* (speaker) and *Vācya* (thing to be spoken of) in a kāvya is to be fully observed by a poet in successfully developing a Rasa. Following this dictum of aucitya fully, Jagannātha classifies Guṇas into three—Mādhurya (sweetness), Dīpti (brightness or vigour) and Prasāda (lucidity). This three-fold classification of Guṇas is also acceptable for Ānandavardhana. But Jagannātha, in assigning these Guṇas to various Rasas, follows closely Mammaṭabhaṭṭa, the post-Dhvani representative and not Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta.

The Mādhurya guṇa is found in Karuṇa, Vipralambha and Śānta, its prominence being greater in the second than in the first and much more intense in the third than in the first two. So also, the ojas or dipti (vigour) is characteristically suggestive of Vira, Bibhatsa and Raudra, their intensity being greater in the latter than in the former. Some view that the Rasas—Adbhuta, Hāsya and Bhayānaka—possess the properties of both mādhurya and dipti ; but others opine that they too like other Rasas possess only prasāda (lucidity), which is a guṇa quite common to all nine Rasas.

But Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta explain these three guṇas in a slightly different manner. Mādhurya and dipti are quite opposite to each other and as such mādhurya rested in isolation in Karuṇa and Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra ; so also dipti with Raudra, Vira and Adbhuta. In Hāsyā there is a happy admixture in an equal degree of these two—mādhurya and dipti ; in Bhayānaka and Bibhatsa, dipti is found in abundance while mādhurya is only to a lesser extent. In Śānta, in variance with circumstances, dipti and mādhurya are found, sometimes to a high degree and sometimes less. And prasāda is the vitally important guṇa in all nine Rasas.

In this connection, Jagannātha also gives a detailed exposition of the ten Guṇas as pertaining to both Śabda and Artha, as expounded by “*Jarattaras*”—Daṇḍin and such other ancient Ālaṅkārikas older than Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. He also enumerates all that is not desirable in a Saṅghaṭanā on which depends the delineation and development of one or more sentiments by the artist-poet in a kāvya or drama.

(*To be continued*)

# The Date of Śrī Madhvācārya

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## I

Chronology being admittedly one of the weak spots in Indian History, there is always room for a delightful variety of opinions regarding the date of any celebrated writer amongst experts. The case of Madhva is no exception to this rule. Several dates, ranging from the twelfth to the thirteenth century have been suggested<sup>1</sup> and in the interests of historical truth, it is proposed to examine some of them and fix a date which would be in accord with the literary and epigraphic data available.

At the outset there are the tables of the Uttarādi and other Mutts which give Śaka 1040-1120 or 1118-1198 A.D.<sup>1a</sup> as the date of Madhva. But, as pointed out by the late Dr. Bhandarkar, long ago, some of the old Mutt lists examined by him bore no Śaka date but merely the names of the cyclic years. The corresponding Śaka years were evidently the result of latter-day conjecture and calculation. But they cannot be taken as final in view of a serious conflict with the data furnished by the Inscriptions of Narahari Tirtha — (to be referred to presently) — on the one hand, and the express statement of Madhva himself in his *Mahābhārata-tātparyā-nirṇaya*, on the other, giving his date as 4300 years after Kali : —

चतुःसहस्रे त्रिशतोत्तरे गते संवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ।  
जातः पुनर्विप्रतनुः स भीमो दैत्यैर्निगूढं हरितत्वमाह ॥

(Mbh. T. N. xxxii, 131).

1. We shall not of course discuss the preposterous statement of Mackenzie that "Madhv founded a sect of Vaiṣṇavism about the year 1850"—p. 12, Mackenzie Coll. D. C.; H. H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1850.

1a. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar and von Glasenapp also seem to have been fascinated by this date. Prof. S. Subba Rau too adopts it with a slight modification : 1103-1198.

Dr. Bhandarkar and C. N. Krishnaswami Iyer<sup>2</sup> took their stand on the passage from the *Tātparyā-nirṇaya* just referred to and argued respectively for 1198-1276 and 1199-1278 A.D. as the most suitable dates. But these dates also suffer from the same contradiction which they entail with the Inscriptions. This will be made clear presently.

Dr. Radhakrishnan and the *District Manual* of South Kanara, give 1199 as the date of Madhva's birth. But the egregious blunders committed by that august monument, the *District Manual*, in giving the place of Madhva's birth as *Kalyāṇpūr*, instead of the correct *Pājaka-kṣetra*<sup>3</sup>—which lies a few miles off Udipi in a *different direction* from that of Kalyāṇpur)—and in asserting that Madhva went over to Vijayanagar at the invitation of certain Śṛṅgeri Monks,<sup>3a</sup> are sufficient proofs of the worthlessness of its testimony in any serious investigation of the problem.

C. M. Padmanābhācār<sup>4</sup> and C. R. Krishna Rau<sup>5</sup> have, in their books, discussed the question at some length, and arrived at 1238-1317 A.D. as the correct date of Madhva. The present writer finds himself in agreement with their conclusion though not in every instance with their particular arguments therefor.

## II

The inscriptions of Narahari Tirtha, one of the four direct disciples of Madhva, offer substantial help in determining the date of the Ācārya. Narahari Tirtha is known to have acted as Regent for nearly twelve years during the minority of Narasimha II, the Eastern Ganga ruler of Orissa. His former name was Svāmi Śāstrin and both he and his father seem to have held high offices in the State. Narahari Tirtha's inscriptions in Kaliṅga range from 1264-1294 A.D. But apart from the semi-poetic and semi-mythical account of the *Narahari-yati-stotra*,<sup>6</sup> nothing is known about the *precise reason for* and *exact duration* of the Regency. But it is certain that Narahari Tirtha was at the zenith of his power in 1281 A.D., the year of his famous Śrīkūrmam Inscription which

2. *Śrī Madhvācārya, His life and Times*, (Three Great Acharyas, G. A. Natesan).

3. This mistake is studiously echoed by J. E. Carpenter in his *Theism in Medieval India*, p. 406.

3a. The city of Vijayanagar itself was founded in or about 1336—*nineteen years after Madhva's departure!* Vide. Sewell. p. 19.

4. *Life and Teachings of Śrī Madhva* (Progressive Press, Madras).

5. *Sri Madhva, His Life and Doctrine*, Bhaskara Press, Udipi, 1929.

6. Published in the *Stotra-mahādadhī*, Belgaum.

makes a special reference to his rule over the Kalingas and to his preceptor Ānandatīrtha<sup>7</sup> (Madhva).

Narahari Tīrtha was converted by Madhva at Rajahmundry, along with his friend Śobhana-bhaṭṭa, the future Padma-nābha Tīrtha—on his way back to Udipi from the first North Indian tour. This event, to judge from the inscriptions of Narahari Tīrtha, seems to have taken place *in or before* 1264 A.D.; for, the earliest of them is dated 1264 and we find Narahari Tīrtha called therein by the ascetic title of *Śrīpāda*. From this we can easily deduce the date of Madhva, who could not, at the time of the conversion, have been very much older than his disciple. Assuming that Narahari Tīrtha was about forty years of age at the time of the Śrīkūrmam Inscription which refers to the wars of conquest against the Śabaras<sup>8</sup> and his prowess as a swordsman,<sup>9</sup> we may safely place his date of birth about the year 1241. He was thus about 22 years old at the time of his conversion in or before 1264. Assuming that the Ācārya himself was just a few years older than the disciple, we may not be far wide of the mark if we calculate the former's age as twenty-five or so at the time. This gives us 1238 A.D. or thereabouts as the probable date of Madhva's birth. Now the cyclic year of the Ācārya's birth is universally believed to have been a Vilambi and that of his departure from the world as a Piṅgala. Turning round, we find that 1238 A.D. is precisely a Vilambi and 1317 A.D. the Piṅgala corresponding to it.

### III

It will now be possible to see wherein does the defect in the theories of Professor S. Subba Rau, Bhandarkar, C. N. K. Iyer, etc., lie. The Inscriptions of Narahari Tīrtha carry us as far as 1294 A.D. and the earliest of them is dated 1264 A.D. The Mutt date which is religiously upheld by S. Subbarau, has absolutely no room for Narahari Tīrtha and his meeting with Madhva. What is more funny in it is that it makes Madhva depart from this world sixty-six years before the very first and ninety-six years before the last-recorded inscription (1294 A.D.) of Narahari Tīrtha—one of the four disciples actually converted by the Ācārya!

7. आनन्दतीर्थभगवत्पादान्चार्यसरस्वती ।  
लोके ऽत्र हरिपादाब्जयुगलप्राप्तयेऽस्तु सा ॥  
तस्माल्लोकसुरक्षणातिनिपुणात्संप्राप्तकर्तव्यधी ।  
द्वेधाऽमुत्र तथात्र योऽवति जनान्कालिङ्गभूसंभवान् ॥
8. तस्य प्रच्युतिवारणाय शबरानीकक्षितीघ्राशनिम् ।
9. धत्ते सत्करवालमस्य तडिता सन्त्यक्तजीवे रिपौ ।



The dates sponsored by Bhandarkar and C. N. K. Iyer are equally defective. For, though to a certain extent they cover at least a portion of the period of the Inscriptions (up to 1276 or 1278), they still lead to the ludicrous conclusion that Madhva's first North Indian tour was undertaken somewhere about his sixty-fourth year or so and finished in his sixty-sixth year ! The first North Indian tour was the beginning of Madhva's victorious career and it was then that two of his earliest works the *Gītā-bhāṣya* and the *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* were for the first time published. Surely, surely, this could not have been in his sixty-sixth year !!

The acceptance of the dates mentioned by the Mutt lists, Subbarau, C. N. K. Iyer and Bhandarkar leads to a further conflict with the ascertained contemporaneity of Akṣobhya Tīrtha (one of the four disciples of Madhva) with Vidyāraṇya<sup>10</sup> (1302-1387).<sup>11</sup> Everything fits in admirably if we adopt the date 1238-1317 A.D. as suggested by the Inscriptions. It not only renders possible the contemporaneity of Akṣobhya and Vidyāraṇya ; but what is more, serves to place the debate between the two at a maturer period in Vidyāraṇya's life : say about 1355 A.D. It fully meets the requirements of the Inscriptions. For it must be pointed out here that all such Inscriptions of Narahari Tīrtha as contain a reference to Madhva—especially the Śrīkūrmam Inscription of 1281, refer to him in terms which imply that the Ācārya was living then in flesh and blood. But according to the theories of C. N. K. Iyer and Bhandarkar, not to speak of those of the Mutts and Subbarau, the Ācārya had departed this life years earlier ! Such a position seems to be clearly erroneous.

#### IV

1238-1317 A.D. is thus in every way the most suitable date. No doubt it has got to explain a small numerical discrepancy with the date pre-supposed by the passage in the *Tātparyā-nirṇaya*. But then, such a discrepancy will arise *only* if the passage were understood *literally*. It is far more probable that it embodies merely an approximate estimate of

10. There are evidences to show that Akṣobhya Tīrtha engaged Vidyāraṇya in a debate on the purport of the Tattvamsi-text. This is attested by Viśiṣṭādvaitic tradition too. But according to Bhandarkar and C. N. K. Iyer, Akṣobhya must have died in 1324 or 1326 A. D. and presuming the debate to have taken place a few years earlier, we will be committed to the absurd position that it took place when Vidyāraṇya was hardly nineteen.

11. Date as given in Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*.

the date of Madhva's birth. 'Four thousand three hundred years after Kali' is only a rough estimate. Taking the date in terms of centuries, the difference between 4300 years Kali i.e., 1199 A.D. and the date that we have worked out viz., 1238 A.D. is only thirty-nine years, which is hardly appreciable in what is assuredly *not* an epigraphic record. Indeed, it is but right and reasonable to subordinate literary testimony to epigraphic evidence in such cases and explain the former in as natural a manner as possible for the simple reason that the literary evidence is 'सावकाश' while the epigraphic is 'नरवकाश' Dr. H. Krishna Śāstri, the Editor of the Śrīkūrmam Ins., in order to escape the difficulty, had pronounced the text from the *Tātparyā-nirṇaya* to be an interpolation. But this is 'both needless and impossible. The peculiar awe and veneration in which the utterances of Madhva are held by his followers are enough to deter any such desire for free-lance interpolation by a later writer. C. N. K. Iyer, therefore, rightly refuses to accept Krishna Śāstri's facile plea of interpolation. C. M. Padmanābhācār passes over this point with a more or less patronising remark that "the verses look as if Madhva himself had given the date of his birth as 4300 Kali" (p. 25). But, the difficulty, cannot be so summarily solved. I believe that the explanation offered by me is about the best that could be advanced. C. N. K. Iyer however, seeks to discredit C. M. Padmanābhācār's date on the ground that on that view "Vidyāśaṅkara is left out of account which is not desirable; for, next to the Guru (Madhva) himself, he is the chief actor in the 'play' as will be shown below." I have but recently proved the Madhva-Vidyāśaṅkara meeting to be a fiction and in the light of the evidence adduced in my paper on the subject,<sup>12</sup> C. N. K. Iyer's rejection of C. M. Padmanābhācār will hardly stand scrutiny.

## V

Śyt. Vindhyeśvari Prasād Dvivedin, at the commencement of his Sanskrit introduction to Nimbārka's *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*, remarks<sup>13</sup>

12. See my paper : The Madhva-Vidyāśaṅkara Meeting—a Fiction—in the Journal of Annamalai University, Vol. III No. I.

13. 'सम्प्रदायप्रदीपे गुर्जराधिपतेः कुमारपालस्य राज्ञो राज्यसमये मध्वाचार्यस्य समुद्रवर्णनं मेरुतुङ्गाचार्येण च प्रबन्धचिन्तामणौ प्रतिपादितं ११९९ विक्रमवर्षे कुमारपालस्य राज्ञो राज्याभिषेकः सम्भवत् ।' Śyt. Dvivedin has not properly punctuated his sentence. The ascription of Madhva to the reign of Kumārāpāla, has evidently nothing to do with Merutuṅga. Much confidence cannot be placed on Gadā's *Sampradāyapradīpa* which was written about the close of the sixteenth century or later.

that the *Sampradāyapradīpa* places the birth of Madhva in the reign of Kumārapāla of Gujerat and that the latter's coronation is reported by Merutungācārya in his *Prabandha-cintāmani*, to have taken place in Samvat 1199. (1142 A.D.) Kumārapāla is known to have ruled till 1174 A.D. If we accept the foregoing story, we must find for Madhva a date of birth between 1142 and 1174. But it is not till four years *after* the demise or twenty-four years *before* the coronation of Kumārapāla that we get a Vilambi :—1178 in the one case, and 1118 in the other. Both the dates are outside the scope of Śyt. Dvivedin's estimate: कुमारपालस्य राज्ञो राज्यसमये“ during the reign of Kumārapāla”. The first of these is, curiously enough, the same as the Mutt date and has to be rejected for reasons already specified. The second too is equally defective in so far as it would place Madhva's exit from the scene of his mundane activities eight years earlier than the date of Narahari Tīrtha's *first* inscription ! Abiding and irremovable contradiction with the epigraphic evidence thus threatens to be the characteristic feature of all the dates earlier than 1238 A.D. Śyt. Dvivedin's date is no exception to this.

## VI

Professor S. Subbarau, in his English introduction to his translation of Madhva's *Gītābhāṣya* (Madras 1906), upholds the Mutt date with but a slight modification :—1103 or 1107-1199 A.D. He considers that 1199 was the year of the Ācārya's *first anniversary* and that by some confusion it came to be mistaken for the actual date of birth ! A rather startling suggestion to proceed from such orthodox quarters ! He does not, however, enlighten us as to *how* Madhva himself came to confound the date of his first anniversary (if he knew when it would come) with that of his actual birth<sup>14</sup> and give the former instead of the latter in his *Tātparya-nirṇaya* ! Or, we don't know if the passage is meant to be dismissed as an 'interpolation' by Prof. Subbarau too.

However that may be, the Professor almost swears by the Mutt list and seeks to reject the evidence of the Inscriptions on entirely feeble grounds. For instance, he says that “ if the date of the Inscription is to be taken as what it purports to be (as if he could actually challenge its veracity !), Narahari Tīrtha should have lived for 53 years thereafter ; but the Mutt record (again an appeal to the Mutt record) shows that he could not have lived for more than 16 years after he resigned the

14. Madhva is quite clear that he was born about 4300 Kali: जातः पुनर्विप्रतनुः। The term जातः cannot possibly stand for demise !

Regency”<sup>15</sup> i.e., till 1216 A.D. according to his calculation. But the Inscriptions reveal him in flesh and blood in the years 1264, 1281 and 1294. Are these successive records of Narahari Tirtha to be put down as downright forgeries in order to defend the infallibility of the Mutt records?

The only explanation which the Professor deigns to give of the inscriptions is that “being given the year of his (Narahari Tirtha’s) demise as Śrīmukha, the date might, under some confusion, (what confusion, when, how and why it resulted, we shall never know) be commuted to be 1136, 1199 and 1256 of *Śālivāhana*—the last date corresponding to 1333-34 A.D.” and forthwith opines “that the original date Śaka 1136 (for Narahari Tirtha’s demise) is *really advanced by two cycles*”! Something like Fergusson’s theory of the Vikrama Era having been antedated by six centuries! But all this is no explanation of the dates of the various inscriptions of Narahari Tirtha. Surely, this theory of advancing the date by two cycles cannot apply to Narahari Tirtha himself! If the dates of the several inscriptions are to be looked upon as having been advanced by two cycles, one must answer the question of who did it? If the original dates of the Inscriptions are all right and one’s quarrel is with their interpretation by modern Researchers and the staff of the Archæological Department, what alternative interpretation of the dates is the holder of such a view prepared to put forward? These and similar questions will have to be answered before one can expect a facile theory of “advancing dates” by cycles at pleasure, to be accepted.

Professor Subbarau makes one last desperate attempt in defence of the Mutt dates by laying emphasis on the “circumstance of Mādhavācārya quoting from the commentaries of Jayatīrtha” in his account of the Pūrṇaprajña system, in his *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*. His next argument from this is that “Mādhavācārya was a century later than Jayatīrtha” and at least “two centuries must have elapsed before Pūrṇaprajña’s system could have been recognised as deserving a place among the older Darśanas.”

It never occurred even to an astute critic and lawyer like C. M. Padmanābhācār to question the premise of Prof. Subbarau’s reason-

15. I have purposely refrained from introducing the story of the idols of Mūlārāma and Sītā reported to have been brought by Narahari—as in my opinion, this incident cannot help us in fixing the date of Madhva. The traditional view that Narahari resigned his Regency in the same year as Madhva disappeared from vision, seems to me to be clearly untenable. This question cannot, however, be discussed here.

ings. He took "the circumstance of Mādhavācārya's quoting from the commentaries of Jayatīrtha" for granted on the Professor's assertion to the effect and proceeded to account for it otherwise. I had my own doubts about the circumstance of Mādhava's quoting from Jayatīrtha's works when I read the Professor's plea. I found on careful examination that my suspicions were confirmed. For truth to tell, there are no citations from any work of Jayatīrtha in the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*. The only quotations there, under the *Pūrṇa-prajña-darśana*, are from the works of Madhva himself such as the *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya*. Of course, Mādhava speaks, towards the end, of certain commentaries on the *Bhāṣya* of Madhva<sup>16</sup>; but the reference not being specific, no conclusion can be drawn from it. And for aught we know, the reference might as well have been to Pre-Jayatīrtha commentaries on the *Bhāṣya* such as the *Sattarkadīpāvali* and the *Tattvapradīpa*. The Professor's premise was therefore purely fictitious and imaginary. When I recently drew his attention to this circumstance, he promptly admitted in the course of a communication<sup>17</sup> that what he had originally written was due to inadvertence and that I may neglect it and evolve my own theory or explanation. This point therefore need not be laboured further.

The other opinion regarding the posteriority of Mādhava to Jayatīrtha by one century, is equally erroneous. In the first place, it must be settled whether Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya are to be kept distinct or identified with each other. If the former be the case, then Mādhava's posteriority to Jayatīrtha by one century, even if it could be proved, will have no bearing on the date of Madhva. If the latter be the case, we have every evidence to show that Vidyāraṇya was a contemporary of both Akṣobhya Tīrtha and Jayatīrtha. The *Jayatīrthaviṇaya* records a meeting between Vidyāraṇya and Jayatīrtha. Prof. Subbarau's theory makes all this a veritable impossibility. As for Madhva's system acquiring enough importance in the eyes of Mādhava even before the lapse of a century, suffice it to say that it had done so for reasons best known to Mādhava himself!<sup>18</sup>

16. दिङ्मात्रमत्र प्रादर्शि । शिष्टमानन्दतीर्थभाष्यव्याख्यादौ द्रष्टव्यम् ।  
(S.D.S.i).

17. In the course of which he says, "As for the question you have raised, you may take it that I was wrong in using that phrase. So you may neglect it and evolve your own theory and explanation."—(dated Tirupati, 13th Sept. 33.)

18. It is suggested that Akṣobhya Tīrtha's historic debate with Vidyāraṇya was still fresh in the mind of Mādhava and that try as he might, he could not shake it off.

We may therefore take it that 1238-1317 has every right to be regarded as the correct date of Madhva,—a position which receives additional corroboration from traces of the Ācārya's acquaintance with the works of Śrīharṣa and Ānandabodha.

Of Śrīharṣa's date itself we are, happily, in no doubt. He lived entirely within the twelfth century (c. 1150 A.D.) and his patron Jayacandra of Kanouj was dethroned in 1195<sup>19</sup>. Madhva makes passing references to Śrīharṣa's destructive dialectic in his *Anuvyākhyāna*.<sup>20</sup> Jayatīrtha informs us that the Ācārya sets himself in his *Kathālakṣaṇa* to oppose the twofold classification of Kathā into Vāda and Vitaṇḍā alone, propounded by Śrīharṣa.<sup>21</sup> Positing an interval of about a century between these two, we arrive at the 13th century as the probable date of Madhva.

As for Ānandabodha, it is rather difficult to determine his date and Doctors of Advaita Vedānta are themselves uncertain about it. It would save a great deal of trouble if anything could be discovered regarding his chronological relation to Śrīharṣa at least. One thing at least is certain viz., that Citsukha, who is stated to have lived about 1250 A.D.<sup>22</sup> commented upon the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha. Seeing that Citsukha has not only commented upon Ānandabodha but also quotes from his other works and criticises<sup>23</sup> his views in his *Tattvapradīpa*, an interval of a hundred years at least seems to be necessary between the two. This would place Ānandabodha well within the twelfth century.

Now, it would appear from Jayatīrtha's commentary on Madhva's *Māyāvāda-khaṇḍana* that he understands the Ācārya in a certain context<sup>24</sup> to be refuting the particular explanation of the nature of *Avidyā*—

19. Das Gupta, History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. 2, p. 126.

20. यदि नाङ्गीकृतं किञ्चिदनङ्गीकृततापिहि ।

नाङ्गीकृतेति मूः स्यादिति नास्मद्विवादिता ॥ (Anuvyākhyāna i, 4).

Vide Khaṇḍana Pariccheda I. p. 20. Choukh. Edn.

21. जल्पस्त्वेका कथा न सम्भवत्येव (Khaṇḍana i, p. 234.)

तेनैक एव कथाप्रकर इति बाह्याः ।

वादवितण्डे द्वे एवेति श्रीहर्षः...ते सर्वेऽप्यनेन निरस्ता भवन्ति ॥

(Kathālakṣaṇa-Tīkā.)

22. M. Hiriyāṇa, edn. of *Iṣṭasiddhi*, (introd. p. xiii).

23. See p. 56 of *Tattvapradīpa*, Nirnayasagar Press, '15.

24. अज्ञानासंभवेन चतुर्थप्रकाराभावात् पञ्चमप्रकारतापि निरस्ता

*nivṛtti* called the (पञ्चमप्रकारता) which is ascribed to Ānandabodha.<sup>25</sup> This again will suggest for Madhva a date somewhere in the thirteenth century. These considerations, however, can only render nugatory the early date suggested by the Mutt lists, Prof. Subbarau, von Glasenapp etc. But they cannot decide the issue against Dr. Bhandarkar's date : 1198-1276 A.D. which still allows room for Madhva's posteriority to Śrīharṣa and Ānandabodha.

If the precise chronological relation between Madhva and Citsukha could be ascertained, it would solve the puzzle of the former's date, in no time. But unfortunately, we have no means of arriving at any positive and direct evidence which could throw any light on this point. All that we know is that Jayatīrtha who flourished about 1360 was quite familiar with the *Tattvapradīpa* of Citsukha which he quotes and refutes in his *Nyāyasudhā*<sup>26</sup> as well as in his *Tattvanirṇayaṭīkā*. He was probably a century or so later than Citsukha. If the interval between the two were assumed to be anything less than that, we should expect to find Citsukha put down as a contemporary of Madhva—for Jayatīrtha himself succeeded Madhva on the *Piṭha* only 48 years after the latter's departure. If Citsukha were thus a close contemporary of Madhva, we may very reasonably expect him to reveal an intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of his successful contemporary. But the works of Citsukha especially his *Tattvapradīpa* betray no trace of acquaintance with the new philosophy of Madhva. Now, Citsukha was a powerful writer of the Advaita Vedānta who applied the destructive dialectic of Śrīharṣa to a refutation of the realistic edifice of his times. Throughout his work his merciless criticisms of the categories of Realism are urged against the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsaka Realists. In attempting to refute the concept of difference (भेद), he confines himself to the views of the above-mentioned. In drawing attention to the confusion and fallacy which any attempt at defining or conceiving of *bheda* entails he shows himself utterly unaware of the doctrine of Viśeṣa propounded by Madhva which is precisely intended to remove such defects. In notic-

25. This particular explanation of अविद्यानिवृत्ति is older than Ānandabodha who is indebted to the author of the *Iṣṭasiddhi* for the same. But it is probable that Jayatīrtha considered Ānandabodha to have been meant—to judge from the *Kārikā* (नं सञ्ज्ञासत्) he cites from the *Nyāyamakaranda*. He does not however mention Ānandabodha by name; which is done by his commentator :

आनन्दबोधादिमतदूषणपरत्वेनोत्तरमूलं व्याख्यातुमाशङ्कते ।

26. See pp. 62-63 etc. of *Nyāyasudhā*, (Kumbakonam Edn.) where Citsukha's arguments in favor of भावरूपाज्ञान (p. 58.) are fully quoted.

ing the objections against the concept of *Anirvacanīyatā* urged by the Realists, he makes no attempt to reply to Madhva's objection :

असद्विलक्षणज्ञप्तौ ज्ञातव्यमसदेव हि ।  
तस्मादसत्प्रतीतिश्च कथं तेन निवार्यते ॥

In refuting the Dualistic interpretations of Śruti texts like *Ekamevādvitīyam*, *Tattvamasi*, etc., he does not seem to have been aware of Madhva's interpretations. It seems probable therefore that Citsuka had really preceded Madhva by half a century at least.<sup>27</sup> Such an assumption would also very well explain the renewed attempts of Madhva to revise and perfect the definitions and the logical, epistemological and metaphysical categories of the earlier Realistic schools in such works as the *Pramāṇa-lakṣaṇa*, *Kathā-lakṣaṇa*, etc.

1238-1317 A.D. thus seems to be the only date which is capable of adequately explaining the largest number of facts connected with Madhva.

27. One may expect Citsukha to have made passing references to Madhva's interpretations—at least for the reason of their striking novelty in the field of Vedānta, if not for that of their high antiquity and established eminence in his times. The priority of Citsukha alone will account for his complete silence on such a novel but none the less substantial doctrine of Viśeṣas, adumbrated by Madhva. Perhaps Madhva's acquaintance with the works of Citsukha might be presumed—tho' the evidence is not particularly clinching—from such statements as : न च तेषां पक्षे स्वयमपि स्वात्मानं पश्यति ; कर्तृकर्मविरोध इति । ह ते वदन्ति (Madhva, Ait. Up. ii, 2) which recall Citsukha's : अकर्मत्वाच्चात्मनः स्वप्रकाशत्वम् वेद्यत्वे स्वाश्रयज्ञानविषयतया कर्मकर्तृभावविरोधप्रसङ्गात् (*Tattvapradīpa*, p. 25).



# Studies in Jaimini

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The Mimāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini seek to investigate the proper meaning of the several disputed passages occurring in the Karma-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. A study of these sūtras is instructive in many ways. Among other things, the student of Mimāṃsā Śāstra is impressed by the bold and original character of Jaimini's teaching. The object of this paper is to set forth in a clear light his great intellectual power, complete aloofness from sectarian bias, broad outlook and critical acumen.

The Vedas are interpreted in different ways by different Ācāryas. Jaimini attempts rationally to discover their real teaching. It is recognised on all hands that the rules (nyāyas) he has framed for a consistent interpretation of the Vedas are reasonable and sound. The Mimāṃsā rules of interpretation though originally laid down for enabling one to interpret the vedic texts in a consistent and systematic manner have in later times been used to interpret any work of importance, particularly works pertaining to the Vedānta and Dharma Śāstras. That is why advocates of widely different systems of thought such as Vedānta, Nyāya, etc., quote these rules in support of their varying views ; and no wonder Venkatādhwari in his Viśvaguṇādarśa pays an eloquent tribute to the absolutely binding nature of Jaimini's rules.

नैयायिकावा यदि शाब्दिकावा त्रयीशिरस्सु श्रमशालिनो वा ।  
वादाहवे बिभ्रति जैमिनीयन्यायोपरोधे सति मौनमुद्राम् ॥

If a position taken is shown to contradict any of Jaimini's rules, the upholder of that view has to own defeat whether he be a Vedāntin, Naiyāyika or Vaiyākaraṇa.

Though Jaimini was not the first to inquire into the meaning of the Vedas, as is evident from the names of ṛṣis<sup>1</sup> whose views he quotes, he was certainly the first to present to the world a systematic

1. The Mimāṃsā Sūtras refer to the following ṛṣis, (1) Bādarāyaṇa, (1) Bādari, (3) Aitiśāyana, (4) Kārṣyājani, (5) Ātrēya, (6) Aśmarathya, (7) Kāmukāyana, (8) Lāvukayāna, (9) Alēkhana.

work expounding the principles according to which the Vedic texts are to be interpreted. In all probability, his work must have inspired Bādarāyaṇa to attempt an exposition of the teaching of the jñāna-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. For we find the latter alluding to several of the conclusions arrived at by Jaimini. Even if the traditional view that Jaimini was the pupil of Bādarāyaṇa is correct there is nothing strange or improper in a teacher referring to the views of his renowned pupil. The fact that Bādarāyaṇa's name is mentioned in Jaimini's work may not prove that Jaimini might after all have followed Bādarāyaṇa's example. For Jaimini makes no mention of the conclusions reached by Bādarāyaṇa and set forth in his Vedānta Sūtras. On the other hand, Bādarāyaṇa refers to the conclusions arrived at in Jaimini's work.<sup>2</sup> These facts will lead to the conclusion that Jaimini must have been familiar with the views of Bādarāyaṇa as with those of many others and that at the time the Mimāṃsā Sūtras were written the Vedānta Sūtras were not in existence. The latter work must have been a subsequent production. Dr. Colebrooke's contention that as the name of Jaimini is mentioned in Vedānta Sūtras and as Bādarāyaṇa's name is referred to in Mimāṃsā sūtras and as these names are mentioned in the third person in these two works, they must have been composed by their respective disciples, deserves careful examination. It is not unusual for Śāstrakāras to refer to themselves in the third person in their writings.

Pāṇini has employed certain ordinary terms in a fixed technical sense in his works.<sup>3</sup> Other śāstrakāras have also followed him in this matter. This practice of using technical expressions by arbitrarily fixing an unusual meaning to terms needlessly enhances the difficulties of the study of the śāstra. Jaimini was quite content to use terms in their generally accepted meaning. In this respect, he stands distinct from other sūtrakāras. Śabara and Kumārila Bhatta have highly commended this practice.<sup>3a</sup>

2. Brahma Sūtras III. 3. 33 and 50 containing the word तदुक्त refer respectively to Mimāṃsā Sūtras III 3. 9 and II 3. 3.

3. Ordinary expressions such as vṛddhi, guṇa etc., which mean respectively growth and quality are used by Pāṇini in a peculiar sense. Vṛddhi means for him the letters आ, ऐ, औ, guṇa refers to the letters अ, ए, ओ.

3. <sup>a</sup> लोके येष्वर्थेषु प्रसिद्धानि पदानि तानि सतिसंभवे  
तदर्थान्येव सूत्रेष्वित्यवगन्तव्यम्. शा. भा.  
सूत्रकारप्रशंसायां लोकइत्यादिनोच्यते ।  
प्रसिद्धैरभिधानाद्धि नशिष्याः क्लेशिता यतः ॥ श्रु. वा.

The interpretation of the Vedas is a task of no mean difficulty. The Vedas abound in statements which are (1) puerile (such as वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता, Vāyu is a quickly moving deity, अग्निर्हिमस्य मेषजम्, The fire is an antidote to dew) ; (ii) self-contradictory (such as कोहि तद्वेदयद्यमुष्मिन् लोकोऽस्तिवानवा, who knows if there is another world) and (iii) in conflict with the evidence of the senses (such as, धूम एवाग्ने दिवा दृशे नार्चिः, during day time we only perceive smoke and not fire.)<sup>4</sup> Jaimini discusses the question whether these Vedic passages are really puerile and comes to the conclusion that they are not futile or self-contradictory or faulty. He is the first to point out that these passages are intended to create in our minds a positive desire for such actions as have been prescribed by praising them, and create an aversion for those that have been prohibited by condemning them.<sup>5</sup>

The description that Vāyu is a quickly moving deity really emphasises the importance of Vāyavyayāga by drawing attention to the fact that Vāyu being a rapidly moving deity, the performer of this sacrifice is sure to get its fruit speedily. Again the passage that we do not know for certain if there is an other world does not convey any doubt concerning the existence of paraloka—its existence is affirmed in the Vedas—but asserts that in connection with jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice the place known as prāgvamśa śālā should be provided with windows. It is part of prudence not to forego immediate advantages in the hope of reaping some future reward. After all we may or may not reap the benefits of the sacrifice in another world, but we are sure to be affected by smoke here and now if we neglect to provide the sacrificial place with windows.<sup>6</sup>

The passage that during day time smoke alone is perceived and not fire shows that in performing prātarhoma the proper mantra to be uttered is the ric 'suryojyotiḥ etc' and not 'agnirjyotiḥ etc.' As Agni is said to reach Sūrya during day time, he becomes invisible and hence the inappropriateness of the mantra addressed to him in the homa performed in the morning. Here the question is 'Is Agni really invisible

4. शास्त्रदृष्टिविरोधाच्च. I. 2. 1.

5. विधिनात्वेकवाक्यत्वात्स्तुत्यर्थेनविधीनांस्युः I. 2. 7.

Some arthavādās are said to discharge certain functions over and above that of praising or blaming some actions. Vide Tadaṣṭasankhyādhikaraṇa Rātrisatradhikaraṇa, etc.

6. आकालिकेप्सा. I. 2. 12.

during day time ?' The answer suggested is that it is not clearly perceptible during day time ; it is clearly perceived only during nights.<sup>7</sup> Thus the apparent meaning of some of the Vedic texts gives no clue at all to their inner significance and does not convey their real purport. Hence Jaimini says that we ought not to be carried away by their mere outward meaning but ought to probe deeper into their inner significance. This is a very important principle of interpretation and rightly its application has been extended to other branches of literature.<sup>8</sup>

There are obvious difficulties in interpreting statements such as, **बबरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत्**, in a literal sense. If the instance cited is taken to mean that 'Babara, the son of Pravāhana desired,' it will follow that the Vedas must have composed after the time of Babara. This cuts at the anāditva of the Veda. Jaimini's interpretation of such passages is very interesting and may be philologically important. The expression Babara is taken by him to mean the whistling wind, for from the burring sound made by the violent wind it can well secure that name and pravāhana is taken to mean that which pushes forward.<sup>9</sup> Following this lead Kumarila explains away with equal skill and insight many difficulties met with in the Purāṇas.

In the performance of the prescribed karmas, the different mantras, it is held, help to remind us of the several actions and objects associated therewith. The presence of such apparently meaningless mantras such as, **सृण्येव जर्फरी तुर्फरीत्** may, however, appear to shatter this view. Consistently with his view, Jaimini cannot accept this mantra to be meaningless. He holds that here also the mantra must refer to certain sacrificial objects and acts ; only we do not know what these are. He has the frankness to tell us that he does not know them. Herein lies the supreme greatness of Jaimini. This reveals the genuinely scientific nature of Jaimini's attitude. Our ignorance of the meaning of several mantras ought not to lead us to reject them as valueless. On the other hand, one ought to endeavour to the utmost of his abilities to get at their import.<sup>10</sup> Hence Jaimini figures eminently modern.

7. **दूरभूयस्त्वात्** I. 2. 12.

8. **सर्वोपाख्यानेषु च तात्पर्यं सति श्रावयेदिति विधेरानर्थक्यात् कथञ्चिद्गम्य मानस्तुतिनिन्दापरिग्रहः तत्परत्वाच्च नातीवोपाख्यानेषु तत्वाभिनिवेशः कार्यः ।**  
न. वा. P. 116.

9. **परन्तु श्रुति सामान्यमात्रम्** I. 1. 31.

10. **सतः परमविज्ञानम्** I. 2. 41.

That Jaimini has no caste-prejudice may easily be proved. To take only one instance. The Vedic passage रथकारोऽग्नीनादधीत enjoins a particular duty, ādhāna karma, on the Rathakāra. The question here is 'Is the Rathakāra here referred to a dvija or non-dvija?' He cannot accept the latter view for the members of the fourth class are prevented from studying the Veda and naturally they cannot perform the Vedic karma. Probably, this consideration may have induced Āpastamba to take Rathakāra as a member of any of any one of the first three classes engaged in building chariots.<sup>11</sup> Jaimini does not allow himself to be bound down by the shackles of caste; he does not speak for any caste and has therefore no need to twist the text. He takes the term Rathakāra in its usual sense of a member of the fourth class. The members of the first three classes are not to engage in the mechanical arts.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, the expression ribhūñāntva occurring in the mantra relating to ādhāna-karma refers only to the saudhanvana caste<sup>13</sup>, that is, the Rathakāra caste and this falls outside the pale of the first three varṇas. It is against all accepted canons of textual interpretation to discard the obvious meaning of a passage in favour of another to suit accepted conventions. Thus, when the Vedic passage is definitely known to expect the rathakāra to perform a certain karma,<sup>14</sup> it would hardly be fair to explain it differently in order to respect the convention that dvijas alone are allowed to carry on Vedic studies and perform sacrifices. The reasonable course would be to admit that the Rathakāra can study that portion of the Veda which relates to his duty.

A similar difficulty arises in regard to the interpretation of the scriptural text एतया निषादस्थपतिं याजयेत्. The sacrifice mentioned here refers to the hunter-chief. Is he a hunter by birth or a dvija? Jaimini, consistently with his position, accepts the first view, on the ground that it is the most natural and understands the term Niṣāda stapatiḥ as a karmadhāraya compound (niṣādhaścāsau sthapatīśca).<sup>15</sup>

11. ये त्रयाणां वर्णानां एतत्कर्मकुर्युः तेषामेष कालः ॥ (आ. श्रौ. सू.)

Rudradatta comments as follows:—

त्रिषु वर्णेष्वन्तर्भूता एव स्ववृत्तिकर्षिता ये रथम् कुर्वन्ति तेषां मयमाधानकालः

12. अकर्मत्वात् नैवं स्यात् VI. 1. 46.

13. सौधन्वनास्तु हीनत्वान्मन्त्रवर्णात्प्रतीयेरन् VI. 1. 50.

14. वचनाद्रथकारस्याधानेऽस्यसर्वशेषत्वात्.

15. स्थपतिर्निषादः स्याच्छब्दसामर्थ्यात् VI. 1. 51.

Any other interpretation would do violence to the text and would be far-fetched. If it is taken as a tatpuruṣa compound, it will have to be interpreted with the aid of lakṣaṇā which involves gaurava. In all cases, a simple and natural meaning is preferable to a figurative interpretation. Hence Jaimini thinks that the sacrifice in question is enjoined on the chief among the huntsmen. The appropriateness of this view is evident, for the dakṣiṇa to be offered at this sacrifice is the hunter's net.<sup>16</sup>

Thus Jaimini admits that certain sections of the fourth varṇa such as Rathakāra and Niṣāda are entitled to perform some Vedic rites ; but at the same time his general position is that the members of the last class are not expected to perform vedic-karmaś, for the obvious reason that they do not possess the two essential qualifications for performing sacrifices, viz., Agni and Vidyā.<sup>17</sup> Does this not argue sectarian bias on his part ? To say that they are not to perform these ceremonials, because they have not the prescribed qualifications, does not mean that they are assigned an inferior status. For Jaimini says that the Brahmins ought not to perform the Rājasūya-sacrifice<sup>18</sup> and that the kṣatriya and Vaiśya are not to perform the Satra-yāga<sup>19</sup> and that the Devas ought not to perform any sacrifice. Certainly this cannot be understood as marking off certain sections as inferior to others.

Sacrifices require a multitude of accessories and articles which could not be produced by poor people. It would therefore appear that only richmen are to perform them. But Jaimini thought that many people would take shelter under this and neglect their sacrificial duty. No man can be absolutely poor all the time.<sup>20</sup> Just as poor men strive hard to earn a living, even so they ought to work hard to secure the means necessary for discharging their religious duties. Persons who are crippled and maimed ought to take the necessary steps to set right their

16. कूटम् दक्षिणा.

17. निर्देशाद्वा तयाणां स्यादग्न्याग्नेयेह्यसंबन्धः क्रतुषु ब्राह्मणश्रुतिरित्यात्रेयः  
VI. 1. 26.

अपिवा वेदनिर्देशादपशूद्राणांप्रतीयेत VI. 1. 33.

18. अवेष्टौ यज्ञसंयोगात्क्रतुप्रधानमुच्यते II. 3. 2.

19. ब्राह्मणानां वेतरयोरात्विज्याभावात् VI. 6. 18.

20. अनित्यत्वात् नैवम् स्यादर्थोद्धि द्रव्यसंयोगः VI. 1. 40.

defects.<sup>21</sup> Unless a person is completely incapacitated he must try to discharge his duties.<sup>22</sup>

Jaimini was singularly tolerant and impartial. In interpreting the Vedās he would not accept certain views merely because they were current among the Aryans ; nor would he reject certain views for the simple reason that they were put forward by non-Aryans (mlecchas). The Aryans on account of their deep and abiding interest in dharma, whose exact nature can only be gathered from śabda, were zealously preserving the traditional meaning of śabda. Hence in the event of a conflict between the Aryan and non-Aryan interpretation of śabda, Aryan interpretation would quite naturally be preferred to the other. Jaimini would abandon even Aryan view if it conflicts with the śāstras ; and accept the non-Aryan views in all cases where the Aryans were not acquainted with the meaning of Vedic expressions.<sup>23</sup> The non-Aryan view is not taboo merely because it is non-Aryan.

Just as Jaimini does not hold that among the four castes any one is superior to the rest, he does not consider that women are inferior in status to men. It is interesting to note that Jaimini's views regarding the rights of women would do credit to any modern reformer. He dismissed Aitiśāyanā's view that women are not entitled to perform sacrifices. Here he has Bādarāyaṇa on his side.<sup>24</sup> It may be asked how can women perform vedic rites, which obviously involve much expenditure, when they have no property of their own ? As we are often told that at the time of marriage they are purchased from their parents, they could have no independent right of their own.<sup>25</sup> Jaimini's reply to this objection is that women have a right to their husband's property, and that the practice of presenting cows, chariots, etc., at the time of marriage will not amount to purchasing them.<sup>26</sup> The śāstras explicitly declare that the husband

21. अङ्गहीनश्च तद्धर्मा. VI. 1. 41.

22. उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात् VI. 1. 42.

23. चोदितम् तु प्रतीयेताविरोधात् प्रमाणेन I. 3.

The Aryans were not acquainted with the meaning of words, such as—pika, nēma, and tāmarasa and they had to accept the meaning of these words as current among non-Aryans.

24. जातिं तु बादरायणोऽविशेषात्तस्मात्स्यपि प्रतीयेतजात्यर्थस्याविशिष्टत्वात् VI. 1. 8.

25. क्रयविक्रयाभ्यामद्रव्यत्वम् स्त्रीणां द्रव्यैस्समानयोगित्वात् VI. 1. 10.

26. क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम् VI. 1. 15.

along with his wife has to seek the four *puruṣārthās* and that the fruits of sacrifices are shared in common. Whenever a sacrificer gives away some of his possessions as offering to a deity saying 'This is no longer mine', his wife also has to repeat, 'This is no longer mine.' This clearly indicates that the wife has a right to her husband's property.<sup>27</sup> Besides this she can have property of her own.

Even the question of the extent to which the king may be said to have rights over his kingdom received Jaimini's attention. The performer of the *Viśvajit*-sacrifice has to offer his entire property as *dakṣiṇa*. When a monarch performs it, is he to give away the whole country over which he rules? Jaimini thought that the subjects had certain inalienable rights in the country, that the king was only entitled to receive a certain percentage of the produce as tax, and that as his rights over the kingdom were by no means absolute,<sup>28</sup> he could not give it away.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that Jaimini attempted the stupendous task of interpreting the Vedas and succeeded most eminently in that undertaking. This is an ample testimony to his intellectual powers and critical insight. An ardent devotee of truth he would not strain the text to suit conventions. His works bears the stamp of one who is courageous and independent and is completely free from sectarian bias.<sup>29</sup>

27. स्ववत्तामपि दर्शयति. VI. 1. 16.

28. नभूमिः स्यात्सर्वान्प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात् VI. 7. 3.

29. I am deeply indebted to Mr. R. Ramanujachariar, M.A., Lecturer in Philosophy, for the valuable help he rendered me in the preparation of this paper.



## இசையியலிலக்கணம்

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(Annamalai University)

அண்ணாமலை யுனிவர்திடி எப்ரல்ஸ் 1௨ ஜர்னலில் ம-ா-ா-ஸ் சீனிவாச ய்யர் அவர்களால் சங்கீத சம்பிரதாய பிரதர்சனி யென்னும் புத்தகத்தில் சில முரண்பாடுகள் காணப்படுவதாயும் அவற்றை ஆராய்ச்சி செய்யவேண்டுமென்றும் சில கேள்விகள் கேட்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அவைகளை தமிழிலாவது தெலுங்கிலாவது எழுதியிருந்தால் வித்துவான்கள் பார்ப்பதற்கு மிக அனுகூலமாக இருந்திருக்கும். நமது அய்யர் அவர்கள் அப்புத்தகத்தை நன்கு கவனித்திருப்பாரானால் அவர்கள் எழுதி யுள்ளபடி முரண்பாடுகள் அதில் இல்லையென்பதை உணரக் கூடும். அவர்கள் கேட்டிருக்கும் கேள்விகளுக்கு அப்புத்தகத்திலிருந்தே எனது அனுபவமான விடையைத்தருகின்றேன்.

(1) தென்னாட்டில் வெருகாலாகவே நல்ல சங்கீதபரம்பரையில் வந்த உபாத்தியாயரை அடையும் சிஷ்யனுக்குச் சங்கீத லக்ஷியலக்ஷணங்கள் முறையுடன் போதிக்கப்பட்டு வந்திருக்கின்றன வென்பதை இப்போதும் பல வித்துவான்கள் மூலமாய் நாம் அறிந்துகொள்ளலாம்.

(2) நமது அண்ணாமலை யுனிவர்திடித்தில் நான்குவருடப் படிப்பில் எல்லா வித முக்கியமான லக்ஷணங்களும் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்ற வென்றும், அவற்றின் பிரயோசனமும் முக்கியக்கருத்தும் அவசியமும் நோக்கமும் யாவரும் தெரிந்து கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்றும் கூறுவது பொருத்த முடையதே.

நான்குவருடம் பயின்று வெளியில் வரும்மாணவன் எல்லாவித லக்ஷிய லக்ஷணங்களும் தெரிந்து ஸ்வரலயஞ்ஞான முதிர்ச்சியுடன் சம்பிரதாயமாக மனோதையித்துடன் கச்சேரி செய்யவும், ஆசிரியனாக இருந்து ஸங்கீத வித்தையைச் சொல்லிக்கொடுத்துப் பரவச்செய்யவும் வேண்டும் என்ற நோக்கமே மேற்கண்ட லக்ஷியலக்ஷணங்களைப் பாட முறையில் சேர்த்திருப்பதன் காரணம். தற்காலம் ஸங்கீதவித்தையின் பிரயோஜனமானது பேச்சளவிலும் எழுத்தளவிலும் பரவிக்கொண்டு போதலைக்குறைப்பதற்கும் கடல் போலுள்ள வித்தையின் ஞானமானது குறைந்து தூர்ந்து போய்விடாம லிருக்கும்படிக்கும் பெரியோர்களால் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கும் எல்லாவித ஸாகித்தியங்களும் லக்ஷணங்களும் நான்குவருடப் படிப்பில் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. மேலே குறிப்பிட்ட லக்ஷண லக்ஷியங்களை முறையுடன் கற்றறிந்த அனுபவம் வாய்ந்தவர்தான் சங்கீதவித்தையின்பரீக்ஷையிலும் முன்னிற்க வல்லவராவர். சிலபசில் (syllabus) கண்ட எல்லா லக்ஷணங்களும் பயிற்சிக்கு ஏற்றனவே.

(3) வடதேச சங்கீதமும் தென் தேச சங்கீதமும் வெங்கடமகி 72 மேளகர்த்தா செய்ததன்பிறகே வெவ்வேறாயின என்று கூறுகிறார். அதற்குமுன் எப்படி இரண்டு சங்கீதமும் ஒன்றாக இருந்தன என்பதை விளக்கிக்காட்டினாலில்லை. பொதுவாக இரண்டு சங்கீதத்திற்கும் சிறிது ஒற்றுமை காணப்பட்டாலும், பாஷை, நடை, உடை, பாவனை, குணம் முதலியவைகள் மேற்படி இரண்டு தேசத்திற்கும் ஒத்திருக்குமானால் ஸங்கீதமும் ஒத்திருக்கக்கூடும். ஸங்கீதத்தின் நாதமானது எல்லாத் தேசத்திற்கும் ஒன்றாயிருந்தாலும் பாஷையினால் வித்தியாசப்படும் தொனியும் கற்பனையுமே தொழில் செய்முறை லக்ஷிய லக்ஷணங்கள் முதலிய பலவிஷயங்களும் வேறுபட்டிருக்கின்றன வென்பதை யாவரேனும் இல்லை என்று சொல்லுவார்களா? உயர்தர அறிவாளிகளின் கொள்கையும் இதுவே. மேனாட்டு ஆசிரியர் C. R. Day, என்பவர் தற்காலம் தென் இந்தியாவில் வழங்கும் இரண்டு முறைகளில் ஹிந்துஸ்தானி சங்கீதமானது வட இந்தியாவில் பங்காளத்தில் வழங்கும் சங்கீதத்திற்கு சிறிது ஒத்திருக்கிறதென்றும் அது விசேஷமாக மகமதிய சங்கீதக்காரர்களாலும் கர்னாடக சங்கீதமானது தென்னிந்திய ஜாதியாராலும் உபயோகிக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறதென்றும் கர்னாடக சங்கீதத்திற்கு அதிக விசேஷத்தையும் கூறியிருக்கிறார். ஆனால் சில ராகங்களை வடதேசத்தாரிடமிருந்து நாம் எடுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கலாம். அதைப் போல அவர்களும் செய்திருக்கலாம். இந்த ஒரு சம்பந்தத்தினால் மட்டும் இரண்டும் ஒன்றாயிருந்தன என்று சொல்லிவிடலாமா? (உதாரணமாக) தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவை முதலியாகவைத்துச் சுற்றிலுமுள்ள மற்ற ஜில்லாக்களை எடுத்துச் சங்கீத சம்பந்தத்தில் பார்ப்போமானால், செய்கை தொனி பாணி முதலிய விஷயங்களில் வித்தியாசங்களிருப்பதை நாம் நிதர்சனமாய்ப் பார்க்கின்றோம். அப்படியிருக்க வடதேசமும் தென் தேசமும் சங்கீதத்தில் ஒன்றாயிருந்தன என்று சொல்லுவது தவறு.

(4) சங்கீத சம்பிரதாய பிரதர்சனியில் 22 சுருதியைப்பற்றிக் கூறுமிடத்தில் சாரங்கர், சோமநாதர் இவர்களின் சுருதிக்கணக்கு முறையையும் பேர் வித்தியாசத்தையும் சொல்லி 7 சுத்தஸ்வரமும் 12 விகிருதிஸ்வரங்களும் 22 சுருதிகளிலே 14 சுதிஸ்தானத்திலிருந்து உண்டாகின்றன என்று சோமநாதர் சாரங்க தேவருடைய மதங்கள் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. பிராசீனபத்தியின் கீழ் கரகரப்பிரியாராகம் சுத்தஸ்வரங்கள் உள்ளது என்று சொல்லப்படவில்லை — கனகாங்கிராகமும் சுத்தமென்று சொல்லப்படவில்லை. ஒருகால் அது மேளகர்த்தா 72 ல் முதல் ராகமானதாலும் பெயரளவில் எல்லாம் சுத்தஸ்வரமென்று வருவதனாலும், சுத்தஸ்வரமென்று சொல்லியிருப்பினும் அடுத்த பக்கத்தில் ஷட்ஜம், பஞ்சமத்தைத் தவிர மற்ற எல்லா ஸ்வரங்களும், விகிருதி ஸ்வரமென்றே உறுதிப்படுத்தி யிருப்பதை கவனித்தால் மேற்படி கனகாங்கிராகத்தை பேரளவில் எல்லாம் சுத்தமென்று வருவதனாலேயே, சுத்தஸ்வரமென்று சொன்னாரென்று நாம் நினைக்கவேண்டும். தவிர கனகாங்கி சுத்தஸ்வரமென்றும், அல்லது கரகரப்பிரியா சுத்தஸ்வரமென்றும், சொன்னாலும் அநுபவத்தில் இவ்விரண்டும் ஸரியாக ஒத்துவர முடியாது; ஏனெனில் கனகாங்கியைச் சுத்தஸ்வரம் என்போமானால், காந்தாரத்திலும் நிஷாதத்திலும் விகிருதி ஸம்பந்தம் வந்துவிடுகின்றது. கரகரப்பிரியா சுத்தஸ்வரமென்போ

மானால் ரிஷபத்திலும் தைவதத்திலும் விகிருதி ஸம்பந்தம் வந்து விடுகிறது. வேதத்தில் வழங்கும் சுரஸ்தானங்களே சுத்தஸ்வரங்களென்றும், அவைகளே முதன்மையானவை என்றும் சொல்லுமுன் தென்தேச பூர்வகால சரித்திர ஆராச்சியின் மூலம், தொன்மையிலேயே தென்தேசசங்கீதம், நல்ல நிலமையில் இருந்தது என்றும் கொள்கையையும் அக்காலத்திலிருந்த சங்கீதமுறைமையையும் ஆராய்தல் அவசியமாகும். ஆகவே முன்காட்டிய கரகரப்பிரியா, கணகாங்கி, இவ்விரண்டு ராகங்களையும் சுத்தஸ்வரங்கள் என்று கிரந்தகர்த்தா சொல்லவில்லை என்பதே அறியத்தக்கது.

(5) விவாதி இன்னின்ன ஸ்வரங்களென்றும், விவாதியென்பது தோஷமென்றும், அதாவது சு. ரி. சு. க. வைப் போல்வரக்கூடிய இரண்டு ஸ்வரங்களுக்கும் விவாதி தோஷமெனவும் அவைகளைத் தொழில்செய்யும்போது வாதி சம்வாதி சுரங்களின் சாயையைப்போல கமகமாகிற செய்கையால் சத்துருபோலுள்ள விவாதிஸ்வரத்தை மித்திரன்போல எடுத்துக்காட்டிப் பாடவேண்டுமென்றும் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. விவாதியென்பது தோஷமில்லை யென்றும், அது ராகத்தின் அழகை மிகுதிப்படச் செய்கிறதென்றும் சொல்லுகிறார்; அது எந்தசாஸ்திரத்தில், சொல்லப்படுகிற தென்பதை அவரே விளக்கிச் சொல்லவேண்டும். தவிர லக்ஷிய ராகத்தில் இருந்து தான் விவாதிதோஷம் சொல்லவேண்டுமென்றும் 72 கர்த்தா 7 ஸ்வரத்தின் ரூபத்தை ஒட்டிவருவதனால் அவை லக்ஷியராகமல்லவென்றும் கூறுகிறார்.

லக்ஷியராக மின்னதென்றும் லக்ஷணராகம் இன்னதென்றும் விளங்கவில்லை. நமக்குள்வழங்கும் எல்லாராகங்களும் லக்ஷணத்தோடுகூடியனவே. ஒருகால் கேள்வியால் நாடோடியாகப்பாடப்படும் ராகத்தை லக்ஷியராகமென அவர் நினைத்திருப்பாரானால், அந்த லக்ஷியராகத்திலிருந்து லக்ஷணராகத்தை யெடுக்கமுடியுமா? என்பதை அவரே ஆலோசனைசெய்ய வேண்டும் — லக்ஷியம் லக்ஷணமென்பன ஒன்றைவிட்டு ஒன்று பிரிந்திருத்தல் இல்லை. ஒரு ராகத்தின் ஆரோகண, அவரோகண, சுரஸ்தானங்களை விளக்குகின்ற ஸ்லோகங்கள் லக்ஷணமென்றும், அந்த ராகத்தினால் உண்டாயிருக்கும் கீத, வர்ண, கீர்த்தன, பதங்கள் முதலிய பாட்டுகள் லக்ஷியமென்றும் சொல்லுவது பொருத்தமாகும். ஆசிரியர்கள் ராகலக்ஷணம் கூறுமிடத்தில் (லக்ஷிய மார்க்கேண கீயதே) என்றுசொல்லியிருப்பதனாலும், தமிழ் ஆசிரியர்கள் எள்ளிலிருந்து எண்ணை யெடுப்பதுபோல், லக்ஷியத்திலிருந்து லக்ஷணத்தை எடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லியிருக்கும் உபமானத்தினாலும் இரண்டும் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று ஆதாரமாகவே அமைந்திருக்கும் தன்மை நன்கு அறியப்படும். வாதி விவாதி அணுவாதி சம்வாதி இவைகளைப்பற்றி வடநாட்டு சங்கீத ஆசிரியர்கள் வெவ்வேறு பொருள் கொண்டிருப்பினும் தென்னாட்டு சங்கீதத்திற்கு அவைகள் முற்றும் ஒத்து வரமாட்டா. விவாதியென்பதற்குச் சத்துரு அல்லது தோஷமென்றே பொருள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. பூர்வத் தமிழ் நூல்களினும் இந்தமாதிரி ஸ்வரத்தைப் பகைச்சுரமென்று கூறப்பட்டிருப்பதைப் பார்க்கலாம்.

(6) மேளமென்பது மிகப்பழமையானதே. வெங்கடமகியே 72 ஆகச்செய்து மேளகர்த்தாவென்று பேர்கொடுத்தார். மேற்படியாருக்கு முன்புள்ள ஆசிரியர்களாலே மேளமென்பது 3 விதமாய்ப் பிரித்துச் சொல்லப்பட்டிருப்பதை அனுசரித்தே வெங்கடமகியும் மேளங்களின் ஆரோகண அவரோகணத்தில் குறைந்த ஸ்வரமும் சம்பூர்ணஸ்வரமும் வரலாமென்ற நியமத்தில் மேளத்தை அமைத்திருக்கிறார். அதுவும் தவிர, சு. ரி. சு. க. உள்ளமுதல் மேளமானது விவாதி தோஷத்திற்கு உட்படுகிறபடியினாலும், ரி. யை வர்ஜித்து ஆறு ஸ்வரங்களைக் கொடுத்துள்ளார். இவ்விஷயத்தில் அதேபுஸ்தகம் லக்ஷணசங்கிரகம் என்கிற தலைப்பின்கீழ் 18 வது பக்கத்தைப்பார்த்தால் விளங்கும். இவைகள் சாஸ்திர திருஷ்டிக்கும் அனுபோகத்துக்கும் பொருத்தமானவையே. பூர்வத்திலும் தற்கால வழக்கத்திலும் மெட்டில்லாத சித்தார் ஜலதரங்கம் போன்ற வாத்தியங்களில் சமயத்துக்குத் தக்கவாறு ஸ்வரஸ்தானங்களைச் சேர்த்துக் கொள்வதற்குச் சாதாரணமாக மேளமென்று சொல்லுவது வழக்க மில்லையா?

(7) தீக்ஷிதர் அவர்களும் தியாகய்யர் அவர்களும் சங்கீதத்தை விர்த்திசெய்வதற்கே பாடுபட்டவர்களாவர். தியாகய்யர் அனேகராகங்களைப் புதிதாக எடுத்துக் கீர்த்தனைகள் மூலமாய் பிரசாரம் பண்ணினார். தீக்ஷிதர் அவர்களும் அனேக பூர்வீகராகங்களிலும், புதிதாய் ராகங்களைக் கற்பித்தும் அனேக வேறுபாடான உருப்படிகளைச் செய்தும் பிரசாரம் பண்ணினார். இவ்விருவரின் சாகித்தியங்களுள் அந்தந்த ராகத்திற்குரிய லக்ஷணங்கள் தாமே இருக்கவேண்டும். ஆனால் இவர்கள் உருப்படிகள் செய்திருக்கும் முறையில் சிறிது வழி வேறுபட்டிருப்பினும் அவைகள் கர்நாடக சங்கீத லக்ஷணத்திலேயே அமைந்துள்ளன. (உதாரணமாக) கம்போஜி, கல்யாணி சங்கராபரணம், தோடி, இவ்விராக லக்ஷணங்கள் மேற்கண்ட இருவர்களுக்கும் வித்தியாசப்பட்டிருப்பதற்கு நியாயமில்லை. ஆகவே சங்கீதவளர்ச்சிக்கு இத்தகைய ஆராய்ச்சி பொருத்தமற்றதென்று நான் கருதுகிறேன்.

(8) வெங்கடமகி பூர்வீகத்திலிருந்த 19 மேளங்களையும் 72 ஆகச்செய்ய வேண்டியதற்காகவே 12 ஸ்வரஸ்தானத்திற்கு 16 பேர்களை சங்கேத அக்ஷரங்களுடன் பிரஸ்தார முறையால் 72 மேளமாகச் செய்து அதனை அவ்வாறு மேளமாக 12 சக்கரத்தில் அடக்கி ஒவ்வொரு சக்கரத்திற்கும் சமிஞ்ஞையாக இந்து, நேத்திரம் அக்கினியென்ற பேர்களைக்கொடுத்து, கடபையாதிக்கணக்கு ஒத்துவரும்படியான எழுத்துள்ள பேர்களைக்கொடுத்துள்ளார். இவைகளில் ஸ்வர சங்கேதங்களாலும், கடபையாதிக்கணக்கினாலும் சக்கரசங்கியையினாலும் மேள ஸங்கியையாலும், நம்பர் வரிசைப் பெயர்களாலும் இந்த ஆறுவகையில் யாதாவது ஒன்றின் ஞாபகமிருந்தாலும் இன்ன மேளமென்று யூகித்து சொல்லுவதற்காகவே மேற்படி ஆறு குறிப்புக்களும் மேளங்களுக்கு உபபலமாகச் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. வெங்கடமகிக்கு பின்வந்தவர் எவரோ 72 மேளங்களின் பேர்களைமாற்றி கடபையாதிக்கணக்குக்கு ஒத்துவராத சில பேர்களுடன் 72 மேளத்தை அமைத்திருக்கிறார். ஆனால் சுரஸ்தானங்கள் மாற்றப்படவில்லை. அவ்விரண்டு பேர்கள் வித்தியாசத்தையும்

அன்னிய வித்துவான்களின் ஸாகித்தியத்தில் சுமார் 170 ம் இன்னும் அனேக அரியலகிய லக்ஷணங்களும் சங்கீத சம்பிரதாயப் பிரதர்சனியில் காணலாம்.

(9) ஆக்ஷிப்திகா, மகரிணி இவைகள் ராகம்பாடும் முறையைச் சொல்லுவன வாகும்.

ஆக்ஷிப்திகாவென்பது ஆரம்பிக்கப்படும் ராகத்தை முதலில் ஆரோஹ, அவ ரோஹண ஸ்வரங்களிலும் தாரஸ்தாயி மத்யமம் வரையில் போய்த் திரும்பி ராகத் தின் ஸ்வரரூபம் தெரியும்படி சுருக்கமாகப்பாடி நிறுத்தல்.

மகரிணி என்பது பாடப்படும் ராகத்தின் முக்கியமான ஜீவஸ்வரத்தில் ஆரம்பித்து அதன்கீழ் உள்ள சுரங்களில் சந்தர்ப்பத்துக்குத் தக்கபடி 3, 4, சுரத்தில் தக்க கற்பனையாகக் கமகங்கள் சவுக்க மத்தியம் துரிதகாலம் நிறைந்த சஞ்சாரத் துடன்பாடி ஆரம்பித்த சுரத்திலேயே நிறுத்துதல். இன்னும் ராகத்தை விரிவாகப் பாடவேண்டியதற்கு விதாரி என்று மூன்றுவித லக்ஷணங்களும் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. தவிர பூர்வீகத் தமிழ் நூல்களிலும், ஆளத்தி என்று சொல்லும் ராக ஆலாபனத்தைச் சில பிரிவுகளாகச் சொல்லி ஆலாபனம் செய்யும் காலத்தில் எந்தெந்த எழுத்துகளைச் சொல்லிப் பாடவேண்டுமென்று கூறப்படுவதனால் மேற்கூறிய ஆக்ஷிப்திகா மகரிணி என்ற ராக ஆலாபனை முறையானது நம் கர்னாடக சங்கீதத்திற்கு மிகப் பழமையானதே.

(10) காலம் மார்க்கம் கிரியை என்பன தொழில் முறையில் அனுபோகத்திலுள்ளனவே. காலமென்பது ஆரம்பதாளத்தின் காலத்தை அளந்து எடுப்பதற்குச் சொல்லியிருக்கும் லக்ஷணமாகும். மார்க்கமென்பது மாத்ரகாலங்கொண்ட ஆறுகாலம் அல்லது ஷட்காலத்தைச் சொல்லுவதாகும். கிரியை என்பது தாளத்தைப் போடும் விதம் அல்லது தாளத்தின் செய்கையாகும். அது இரண்டுவிதமாகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஒன்று சசப்தம் இரண்டு நிசப்தகிரியை இவ்விரண்டு கிரியைகளின் உட்பிரிவான வகையாலும் சோடசாங்கங்களையுடைய 35 தாளங்களிலும் இன்னும் சில தாளங்களிலும் 108 தாளம் பஞ்சதாளம் சிம்மநந்தனம் முதலிய தாளங்களிலும் அமைந்து நிற்பது கிரியையாகும். வித்வான்கள் தங்களது ஞான சக்திக்கு ஏற்றவாறு மேற்படி தாளங்களை யெடுத்துத்தொழில்செய்து வந்திருப்பதை சங்கீத உலகமே அறியும். இவ்வாறு பயிற்சிக்கேற்ற சங்கீதவிஷயங்களை சர்ச்சை செய்வது யாவருக்கும் திருப்தியை அளிப்பதே. ஆனால் நமது நண்பர் தமது ஆராய்ச்சியை அடிக்கடிபாட்டின் மூலமாகவோ, பிடில், வீணை, மிருதங்கம் முதலிய கருவிகள் மூலமாகவோ, நிரூபணம் செய்து திருப்தி செய்வித்தால் மாணவர்களுக்கும் சங்கீதக்கலைவளர்ச்சிக்கும் மிக உபகாரமாக இருக்கும் என்று நம்புகிறேன்.

# A Rejoinder

BY

P. SREENIVASA IYER  
(*Annamalai University*)

It gives me indeed immense pleasure to note that my article on "Inconsistencies" is favoured with a sufficiently long rejoinder from the pen of my colleague, Mr. K. Ponniah Pillai himself. Only, his objections to the prominent inconsistencies that I have pointed out, hardly appear, to me to be sound. Further, from two or three prominent portions of his rejoinder it is clear that he has missed the spirit of my article, probably since it was couched in English.

Stating that I have forwarded certain 'querries' for which he sets out to give his answers, 'basing them on the book itself,' he has however left the latter untouched in the course of his elucidation of the first three points. Point (4) in the rejoinder referring to point (1) in my article, I need not say, is obviously queer. For, it is a fact recorded in the sampradaya pradarsani itself and approved by all musicians that the suddha sthanas of the Pracheena paddhati are quite different from those in vogue in South India; and that the Suddha sthanas of Karnatic music refer to the Kanakangi alone, while those of the Pracheena paddhati to the kharahara priya—which is even to-day noticeable in the samachant, the accepted origin of music.

Though the Vadi, Samvadi, Anuvadi and Vivadi are quite familiar terms, many of the musicians, particularly in South India, have not understood their significance. I have nevertheless fully explained them to our students with typical illustrations, besides citing the definitions of the original texts; and have also demonstrated to them how indispensable they are for the instrumental practitioner. For instance, briefly, the Ri is the Vadi swara of the Karaharapriya and Dha is Samvadi there, while the rest are Anuvadi swarams. I have also practically proved their utility by means of the same illustration, how the instrumental student must understand that the Ri in it is the most prominent and oft-occurring note, and the Dha is next in importance; and further, how these two notes merely would not suffice and the other swaras or Anuvadis also contribute their indispensable quota to bring out the raga form. It deserves to be noted that every raga is being taught in North India with its Vadi, Samvadi and Anuvadi notes; which however is con-

spicuously absent down here in the south. There they usually cite the Bilaval as possessing the Vivadi, corresponding to our Bilahari with its kaisiki nishada introducing the Vivadi in it. It is indeed needless for me to reiterate in this connection the too well-known truth that the presence of the kaisika nishada adds to the beauty of this raga, even as 'the tiny, black Tilaka enhances the charm of the countenance'—and it can never mar the beauty of the raga. To quote an original text,

Supramanayuto manye vivadyapi suraktidah  
Yatheshatkrishnavarnena subhrasyativichitrata.

It is with much regret that I notice that he has put in some digressive stuff under his (6) as if in reply to my view clearly set forth that Venkitamakhi's melakartas ought not to have less than seven swaras in either scale.

My point (5) that the seventy-two names given in the book are entirely different from those in vogue is utterly lost sight of ; instead, he goes on expatiating on the Dasaprana and the Ragalapana terms—which form a subject by themselves. Further, (a) the 72 names in the Ettiyapuram book are altogether different. (b) To illustrate every raga in the list given there, the kritis of Dikshitar are cited and hardly those of Tyagayyar. (c) Many of the ragas (other than the popular) in which Tyagayyar has composed his kirtanams are missing in the list contained in the book. Do not these three points give rise to the relevant doubt whether the Lakshana schools of the two great composers were different ? On the other hand, how can it be said that ' this kind of investigation is detrimental to the very advancement of music ; or that we doubt the sincerity of Tyagayyar and Dhikshitar in their devotion to music ! '

How the advent of Venkitamakhi's melakartas has caused the Indian system to diverge into the Northern and the southern, was not the subject of my article ; if it came to be taken up, of course, I could duly express myself on it. Nevertheless, to encase in a nut-shell, since the sampradaya pradarsani itself proclaims that before Venkitamakhi's time the Pracheenapaddhati was prevalent in South India, which even to-day obtains in the north, it is a point to easily realise that the Indian system was undivided until the creation of the 72 melakartas.

The donor must needs have worthy recipients, the musician an intelligent audience ; even so, articles such as these when they surmount counter ones, only shine the more and open up ample scope for giving and taking—which, doubtless, will be for the edification of the field.

**Annamalai University Sanskrit Series: No. 2.**

**SABAPATHI VILASA NATAKA**

—*Mm. Dandapaniswami Dikshitar.*





उपमन्युः—तत्सत्यमधुना स्वयं प्रयोगादप्यन्तेवासिभिः प्रयोगो गरीयानिति ॥ यतः—

सन्तुष्टात्तपसा स्वयं पुरजितो लब्धेन दुग्धाब्धिना  
चेतःकिल्बिषहारिभिर्न च तथा तातोपदेशामृतैः ॥  
कृष्णेन प्रचलिष्यतीति भुवने धर्मोऽयमैश शिचरात्  
आनन्दोर्मिलमान्तरं किमपि नस्तत्त्वं यथा वर्तते ॥ ३२ ॥

( पुरोऽवलोक्य सस्नेहम् )

शान्तश्रृङ्गारवीराणां रसानां यो निवासभूः ।  
स एष सत्यया साकमयेऽस्मान्भिवर्तते ॥ ३३ ॥

कृष्णः—(उपसृत्य) भगवन् ! वासुदेवोऽहमभिवादये । देवी च सत्यभामा ।

उपमन्युः—वत्सौ ! किमपरमाशास्महे ? शिवविज्ञानसंपन्नौभूयास्ताम् (उभौ  
सविनयं तिष्ठतः)

उपमन्युः—परिशीलितः कश्चिदयं तिलवनोद्देशः ? कच्चिदप्याश्रमभूमयो रमयन्ति ?  
अपि सुखयति वा सेवा श्रीमूलनाथस्य ?

कृष्णः—भगवन् । इदं एवमिति न विचारयति भगवदुपदेशवचनसुधास्वादसमेधमानपर-  
मानन्ददुर्ललितमन्तः करणम् ॥

उपमन्युः—वत्स ! तथापि व्रतोपवासक्रियासमभिहारेण बलवदस्वस्थशरीरमिव भवन्तं  
उपलक्षये । इमाञ्च देवीं सत्यभामाम् । ततः तातचरणाननुज्ञाप्य चिर-  
विरहविह्वलानां बन्धूनामलङ्करोतु दर्शनपथमायुष्मान् ॥

कृष्णः—यदाहुराचार्यचरणाः ॥

उपमन्युः—तदिदानीं तातसमीपमेव गच्छामः ।

कृष्णः—तथा (सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

उपमन्युः—(पुरोऽवलोक्य) इयं पुनस्तातपर्णशाला । (किञ्चिदन्तरं गत्वा, अवलोक्य सहर्षम्) वत्स ! पश्य ।

सङ्कल्पोपनमन्महेशनयनद्वन्द्वीभवत्पुष्पव-

च्छायोन्मेषवशादिवाद्ध्विकचे नेत्रारविन्दे वहन् ॥

आनन्दस्मितहारलोलुपतयेवाग्रे चिरं वक्षसा

विष्टब्धेन कृतार्थयन्त्रपिचनः सोऽयं गुरुः सांप्रतम् ॥ ३४ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति समाधिमभिनयन्याघ्रपादः ; शिष्यश्च)

उपमन्युः—(उपसृत्य) वत्स ! कौण्डिन्य ! कियच्चिरमारब्धसमाधेः तातपादस्य ? ॥

सत्यभामा—अय्यवुत्त ! सण्णिहिदो खु देवपूजासमओ । ता ज्ञत्ति उम्मीलअस्स इ विलोअणाइ ॥ (आर्यपुत्र सन्निहितः खलु देवपूजासमयः तस्मात् ज्ञटिति उन्मीलयिष्यति विलोचने)

कृष्णः—भगवन् ! किमतोऽपि भगवत्प्रसादादन्यत्किंवार्थनीयम् ॥ यतः समाधिना ताम्यन्ति भगवत्पादाः परमाचार्याः ।

उपमन्युः—यदा खलु सत्यलोकशैलपैरभिनीतं दारुकावनचरितं देवस्य, तत आरभ्य एवं शिवयोगे प्रवर्तते ।

व्याघ्रपादः—(दारुकावनशब्दश्रवणेन सामिश्रितिलीकृतसमाधिः ; (सहर्षं सरोमाञ्च-मञ्जलिं बध्वा)

आम्यन्मौलितरङ्गिणीजलकणव्यासङ्गपौनःपुनी-  
 कुप्यत्पाणिहुताशनारभटिकानिव्यूढवाद्यान्तरम् ॥  
 शिञ्जन्नूपुरशिञ्जितैः श्रवणयोरायुष्यमुत्पादयन्  
 नृत्यं तन्नटनायकस्य पुनरप्यध्यक्षयेयं किमु ॥ ३५ ॥

तदानीं खलु—

पादाघातातिरेकभ्रमदवनिभरक्षुब्धकुम्भीनसेन्द्र—  
 न्यञ्चद्वक्तृघनिर्यद्बहुलगरझरीपीतपातालगोलम् ॥  
 विष्वक्क्रीडज्जटालीचलभुजगकुलश्वासश्श्लासमीर  
 व्यावल्गद्व्योमयानं चिरतरमभवत्ताण्डवं विश्वनेतुः ॥ ३६ ॥

किञ्च

विष्वद्रीचीभिरस्य त्रिपुरविमथितुर्हन्यमाने जटाभि-  
 ब्रह्मस्तम्भे रयेण भ्रमति कलयतो मण्डलाकारनृत्यम् ॥  
 व्यत्यस्तस्वाधिवासाः किमिति भयभृतः ते शुनासोरमुख्या  
 दिक्पालाः प्रत्यमुञ्चन्निजनियतदिशानायकत्वाभिमानम् ॥ ३७ ॥

(सनिर्वेदम्) अथवा मम खलु विविधविषयजटिलचेतसः कोऽधिकारः स्मर्तुमपि  
 विभोर्नेटनम्, किंपुनर्द्रष्टुम् ? ॥

तिर्यक्कुञ्चितवामहस्तचरणं तीव्रभ्रमीमण्डली-  
 भूतालीकविलोचनानलशिखादीप्ताखिलाशान्तरम् ॥  
 व्यत्यस्ताखिलभावमाकुलजटानिष्पीततारापथम्  
 धन्यः पश्यति तादृशं भगवतः तापापहं ताण्डवम् ॥ ३८ ॥

तिष्ठतु तदेतत् । समाधिरेव शरणम् ॥

(उन्मील्य लोचने) सन्निहिता स्नानवेला । कुतो वत्सः कौण्डिन्यः ?

कौण्डिन्यः—आअदं मए (आगतं मया)

उपमन्युः—(सविनयमुपसृत्य) तात ! एष वासुदेवः देव्या सह सत्यभामया तातपाद-  
वन्दनाय सन्निहितः ।

व्याघ्रपादः—किं भगवता समागतं त्वासुदेवेन ?

कृष्णः—(चित्रपटं पुरोनिधाय देव्या सह प्रणमति)

व्याघ्रपादः—(सस्नेहम्) ब्रह्मादिवन्द्यस्य भगवतोऽन्यस्मिन्वन्दनमिति न किमेतद्विड-  
म्बनम् ? तथापि लोकयात्रामनुवर्तमानस्य वयमप्यनुकुर्मः ॥

कृष्णः—(सविनयं तूष्णीं तिष्ठति)

उपमन्युः—बहोः कालाद्वत्सस्य विरहवैधुर्यमनुभवन्ति बान्धवाः ।

व्याघ्रपादः—(सस्मितम्) चिरसंस्तुतमपि नवमिव दर्शनममुष्य न कस्मै रोचते ?  
(कृष्णमवलोक्य)

यथानन्दघनं ज्योतिरेणाङ्गार्द्धविभूषणम् ॥

आनन्दयति नश्चेतः तथा त्वमपि सांप्रतम् ॥ ३९ ॥

उपमन्युः—(विमृश्य) कोऽयं चित्रपटः ?

कृष्णः—मनुवंशप्रसूतिः सिंहवर्मा नाम नरपतिः ।

व्याघ्रपादः—अस्ति श्रूयते

उपमन्युः—ततः

कृष्णः—तेनाऽयं प्रेषितः चित्रपटः, यतते च सैह्रुपनिवारणाय ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—किमन्येन यत्नेन ? विद्यमाने शिवगङ्गाभिधाने तीर्थराजे ।

कृष्णः—(सहर्षम्) चिराय चरितार्थाभिलाषः स राजा । तदमुमत्र प्रस्थापयामि (देव्या सह प्रणम्य) सर्वथाऽनुग्राह्योऽयं जनः ॥

उभौ— ब्रज द्वारवतीं कृष्ण पन्थानः सन्तु ते शिवाः ॥  
जप पञ्चाक्षरीं नित्यं भज पादौ च शूलिनः ॥ ४० ॥

कृष्णः—यदाहुराचार्याः (इति पुनः प्रणम्य देव्या सह निष्क्रान्तः)

उपमन्युः—तात ! चिरेण वासुदेवविरहविह्वलमन्तःकरणम् ॥ ऊर्ध्वमवलोक्य)

परिमललहरीभिः सर्वतो याजुषीभिः  
करनिकरमिषेणाध्यापयन्विश्वमेतत् ।  
स्तिमित इव भयेन स्वप्नतापातितापो-  
दितमयमघमहां निहुतेऽह्नाय नाथः ॥ ४१ ॥

तद्वयमपि स्नानायोत्तिष्ठामः

(इतिनिष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे)

इति तृतीयोऽङ्कः समाप्तः



## अथ चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।

(ततः प्रविशति चित्रपटहस्तः कौण्डिन्यः)

कौण्डिन्यः—आणत्तं हि आइरिअउत्तेण उवमण्णुणा, “ जह वच्च ! कुण्डिण्ण तत्तभवन्तस्स तादपादस्स चित्तविणोदअं चित्तपटं आणए त्ति । जाव सण्णिहिदो होमि [परिक्रम्य विचिन्त्य] मण्णे भअवदो वि ताण्डवमेव परमानन्दजणयं त्ति जदो पुणो पुणो लद्धपरमसिवदंसणोवि ताण्डवालोअणदिण्णखणो किलम्मइ पुज्जपादो । तह अ मुउलिअलोअणो संकप्पसंपादिअनिरदिसयाणन्दपिसुणघण- पुलअकवचिअसरीरो अविरदप्पसरेहिं आणन्दस्सुजलेहिं नईमादुअमिअ करेइ उडअब्भन्तरकन्दारसन्निवेशम् । गयं वि समअं न मुणइ, अवि णाम पूरइस्सइ मणोरहमेदस्स परमेसरो [निमित्तं सूचयन्] मण्णे फल्लिदप्पाअमेव चिन्दिअं आरिइअस्स । [परिक्रम्यावलोक्य] अहो दिट्ठिआ एसो आइरिओ सह तणयेण उवमण्णुणा किं वि मन्दयन्दो उटअवेइं अलंकरेदि । जाव उवसप्पामि [उपसर्पति] (छा) आज्ञसोऽस्मि आचार्यपुत्रेणोपमन्युना, यथा वत्स ! कौण्डिन्य ! तत्रभवतः तातपादस्य चित्तविनोदनाय चित्रपटमानयेति । यावत्सन्निहितो भवामि । मन्ये भगवतोऽपि ताण्डवमेव परमानन्दजनकमिति । यतः पुनः पुनः लब्धशिवदर्शनोऽपि ताण्डवालोकनदत्तक्षणः क्लाम्यति पूज्यपादः । तथा च मुकुलितलोचनः संकल्पसंपादितनिरतिशयानन्दपिशुनघनपुलककवचितशरीरः अविरतप्रसरैरानन्दाश्रुजलैर्नदीमातृकमिव करोति उटजाभ्यन्तरकान्तारसन्निवेशम् । गतमपि समयं न जानाति । अपि नाम पूरयिष्यति मनोरथमेतस्य परमेश्वरः । मन्ये फलितप्रायमेव चिन्तितमाचार्यस्य । हन्त ! दिष्ट्या एष आचार्यः सह तनयेनोपमन्युना किमपि मन्त्रयन्नुटजवेदिकामलं करोति । यावदुपसर्पामि ॥

(ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टः व्याघ्रपादः सहोपमन्युना)

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! चिरयति कौण्डिन्यः ।

कौण्डिन्यः—[प्रणम्य चित्रपटमर्पयति]

उपमन्युः—[आदाय निसार्थं सविस्मयम् ] तात ! प्रतिनिधिरिवायं भूलोकस्य  
चित्रपटः । न किञ्चिदत्र न लिखितमस्ति ।

व्याघ्रपादः—[विलोक्य सानन्दम् ]

स्थानादि शंभोः शैलाश्च सरितः सागरास्तथा ।

दृश्यन्तेऽत्रैव लिखिताः पत्तनानि वनानि च ॥ १ ॥

निरूपयामस्तावत् ।

उपमन्युः—तात ! बहुत्वान्न शक्यन्ते निरूपयितुम् । तदिदमेव तिल्ववनं कुत्रेति  
विचारयामः ।

व्याघ्रपादः—अंगुल्या निर्दिशन् ] वत्स !

१नयनमिदं धरणितले पचेलिमं भागधेयमखिलानाम् ।

क्षेत्रं चिदम्बराभिधमेतन्मुक्तेः परं धाम ॥ २ ॥

अयञ्च दक्षिणेन शिवगंगामम्बिकानाथः ।

उपमन्युः—[साञ्जलिबन्धम् ]

जटातटी जहुकुमारिकायास्ताटङ्किता यस्य तरङ्गसङ्घैः ।

तस्मै महिम्नामवसानसीम्ने श्रीमूलधाम्नेऽस्तु नमो महिम्ने ॥ ३ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—को इमो एदस्स तिल्वणस्स पुरोभागम्मि तमालसामलो दीहदीहपव्वदो



पदिओ दीसइ । (कोऽयं एतस्य तिल्ववनस्य पुरोभागे तमालश्यामलः  
दीर्घदीर्घपर्वतः पतितः दृश्यते ?)

उपमन्युः—[विहस्य] नासौ पर्वतः

१सोऽयं प्राग्वारिराशिः पटुचटुलनटद्वीचिवाचालिताशः  
धत्ते चित्ते मुदं नो रुचिरनवतमालावलीदर्शनीयः ।  
दूरादालोकभाजां गगनतललिहा योभभसा वारिपान-  
प्राप्तप्रत्यग्रपाथोधरनिकरधियं सन्ततं तन्तनीति ॥ ४ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—[सवैलक्ष्यम् परिवृत्य दक्षिणतः अङ्गुल्या निर्दिशन्]

विमलदुऊलपडी विअ लच्छीए सज्जिआ चलन्तीए ।  
मुत्तिलयट्ठि व्व पुरो वसुहाए भाइ का एसा ॥  
(विमलदुकूलपटीव लक्ष्म्याः सज्जिकायाश्चरन्त्याः ।  
मौक्तिकयष्टिरिव पुरो वसुधाया भाति कैषा ॥ ५ ॥ )

उपमन्युः—इयं पुनः दक्षिणेन तिल्ववनम्

आवृत्तोद्धृत्ततीरद्रुमकुसुममधुभ्रान्तभृङ्गान्धकार  
प्रक्षुब्धचक्रवाकश्रितततविकचांभोजधूल्यातपश्रीः ।  
सिन्धोरन्तःपुरी सा सविधयति मुदं पापवातन्धयानां  
२कावेरी सा मयूरीजलमनुजवधूसौध ३दुत्तुङ्गभङ्गा

व्याघ्रपादः— अस्या ४मरुद्वृधायाः प्रतीरभागान्वदन्ति खलु ५चोलान् ।  
मौद्गीनक्रौद्रवीणत्रैहेयस्फारमाषचणकतिलान् ॥ ६ ॥

१. समुद्रः २. उत्तरकावेरी கொள்ளிடம். ३. सौधहवाचरन् उत्तुङ्गो भङ्गो यस्याम् ।  
४. कावेरी ५. चोलदेशः.

उपमन्युः—एवमेवायं चोलाभिधानो जनपदः ।

कौण्डिन्यः—(साश्चर्यम् )

सररुहपरिमलअन्धयसलभसरोलंबमुहरककुहन्दो ।  
लोअणपहूदमेसो देसो णो कस्स कुणइ आनन्दम् ॥ ७ ॥  
(सरोरुहपरिमलान्धसरभसरोलम्बमुखरककुभान्तः ।  
लोचनप्रभूतमेष देशो नो कस्य करोत्यानन्दम् ॥ ८ ॥)

व्याघ्रपादः—[पुरोऽवलोक्य सानन्दम् ] अत्र तावत्

सौरभ्याहूतभृङ्गस्फुटनवकुहरैः मौक्तिकसन्निवेशैः  
प्रोन्मीलत्रालिकेरस्तबककुचभरव्यञ्जिताशामणीनि ।  
एतान्यानीलभूरिच्छविविततिभृतानन्दसन्दोहकेकी—  
न्यालोक्यन्ते समन्तात्पथि पथि निबिडं नाळिकेरीवनानि ॥ ९ ॥

किञ्च

दिनकरकिरणकदम्बकनिरोधजातानि तावदयशांसि ।  
कदळिवनानि समन्तात्कालिमकपटेन विभ्रतेऽमूनि ॥

उपमन्युः—तात ! शतपत्रभववृत्ररिपुमुख्यसुरमृग्यमपितत्परमतत्वंगुरुदर्पणइव प्रति-  
फलज्जयति भक्तपरतन्त्रमत्र ।

व्याघ्रपादः—आम् वत्स

सर्वगतोऽपि भगवानभिव्यञ्जकवैशेष्यादत्र विद्योतते चोलदेशे । पश्य, हस्त-  
दक्षिणेन पुरशासनानुग्रहसर्वस्वनिक्षेपमहापात्रं ब्रह्मपुरं नाम क्षेत्रम् । यत्र खलु--

कल्पारम्भविजृम्भमाणजलधिप्रोद्वेलनौकान्तरे  
क्रीडन्नम्बुनि बिम्बितेन वपुषा द्वैराज्यमुत्पादयन् ।  
विभ्राणो वसनीकृता ननु चतुःषष्टिं कला द्योतते  
देवश्चन्द्रकलाधरोऽखिलजगत्संहारकार्तान्तिकः ॥ १० ॥

उपमन्युः—[पुरो हस्तं प्रसार्य] एतत्किल न्यकृतधन्वन्तरिप्रशस्तिस्तोत्रं १जटायुः-  
क्षेत्रम् । यत्र खलु—  
अनवधिदयापीयूषाम्भोधिसारमयं निज-  
स्मरणसमयालीढाशेषामयग्रहपीडनम् ।  
निटिलनयनज्योतिःस्वाहाकृतासमसायकम्  
जयति महितं तेजः श्रीवैद्यनाथसमाह्वयम् ॥ ११ ॥

इदञ्च सिद्धामृतं नाम सरः । यत्र च—

निमज्ज्य रोगादुत्तीर्णान्नोगिणस्तीरमाश्रितान् ।  
अन्य इत्येव जानन्ति जनाः कान्तितरङ्गितान् ॥ १२ ॥

इतश्च—

समीपे तीर्थेषु त्रिषु भगवतः स्नाति भुवि यः  
स मुक्त्यै कल्पेतेत्यभिनयति शूलस्य शिखरैः  
अहो यत्रैवासावखिलजनसन्तापशमनं ।  
मनः श्वेत्तारण्यं मसृणयति कौतूहलभरैः ॥ १३ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—इसिपुण्वदो को इमो रुक्खसमूहो (ईषत्पूर्वतः कोऽयं वृक्षसमूहः)

व्याघ्रपादः—इदं पुनः उपजलनिधितटवनं श्छायावनम् । यत्र हि—

1. வைத்திச்வரன் கோவில். 2. சுவேதாரண்யம். திருவெண்காடு.  
3. छायावनक्षेत्रम् ।

दूरापास्ततरङ्गरिङ्गणनटत्पाथः कणाहंक्रिया-  
 छेदाडम्बरजर्जरस्यततया वेलावनालम्बिनः ।  
 मुष्टीमुष्टिविधायिनो भगवतो फालानलज्वालाया  
 सेवन्ते जलधेः समीरशिशवः पादारविन्दं विभोः ॥ १४ ॥

उपमन्युः—तातः पश्य हस्तदक्षिणेन—

१ वामेनाहत्य किञ्चिच्चलभुजगतुलाकोटिपादाम्बुजेन  
 क्रोधान्नाथं पितृणां करकमलचलच्छूलमालोकयन्द्राक्-  
 तत्कालोत्रासवेगोत्तरलितवपुषा श्लिष्टसव्यांघ्रिपद्मः  
 मार्कण्डेयेन कोपस्मितशबलितदृक् भाति कालान्तकोऽयम् ॥ १५ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! इतोऽपि कृतार्थं चक्षुषी किञ्चित्पश्चात्

२ सद्यसुताया दक्षिणतीरे मायूरनामकं स्थानम् ।  
 पातकभुजगमयूरी गौरी यत्रेशमुपतस्थे ॥ १६ ॥

उपमन्युः—[सस्मितम्]

मयूररूपेण क्षितिधरसुतायां भगवतः  
 पदाम्भोजे नन्तुं सविधमुपयान्त्यामिह शनैः ॥  
 भयावेशाद्भूषाभुजगपतयस्तत्र समये  
 फणाभोगाघातात् ध्रुवमवशमीशं विदधिरे ॥ १७ ॥

[उभौ हसतः]

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! दक्षिणेनावलोकय । हरिनयनपुण्डरीकमण्डितचरणारविन्दस्य भगवतः

भतेजिनीबनं नाम स्थानम् । अत्रहि—  
 पाणौकृत्यैकनेत्रं विघटितमथ तत्पाटनोदञ्चिताश्रु  
 प्रक्षुब्धान्येक्षणत्वात्प्रमुषितसकलालोकजातोऽपि भक्त्या ॥  
 पाणिस्पर्शोपलब्धं चरणसरसिजं प्रापयन्विश्वनेतुः  
 साहस्राम्भोरुहार्चाफलमविकलमासेदिवान् कैटभारिः ॥ १८ ॥

उपमन्युः—तात ! इतोऽपि दक्षिणेनावलोक्यतां अपवर्गमुक्तामणिशुक्तिका ररक्तारण्य-  
 पुरी । यत्र हि—  
 अस्तित्वमूलमव्याजकरुणापूरपूरितम् ।  
 तपःफलं मुमुक्षूणां <sup>३</sup>घातकीमूलमाश्रितम् ॥ १९ ॥

[अञ्जलिं बध्वा]

कल्पोत्पत्तिजगद्ययप्रतिभुवा कामादिभिः कैश्चन  
 प्रासैर्वर्तयता कथंकथमपि प्रायोऽलिकज्योतिषा ।  
 अप्यत्यच्छतरां जटाशशिकलामङ्गेन संयोजयन्  
 अर्धाङ्गीगतमन्मथागमरसः पायान्महाभैरवः ॥ २० ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—[साश्चर्यम् ] वत्स पश्य ! हस्तदक्षिणेन चोलमहीमण्डलमकुटमण्डनपद्मराग-  
 कन्दलमिन्दुशेखरस्य <sup>४</sup>कमलालयं नामायतनम् । यत्र हि—

इस्तेकृत्य जटाशशिच्युतमिव त्रासादहिभ्यो मृगम्  
 वामाङ्गप्रमदाङ्गकान्तिलहरीदूर्वादलैः प्रीणयन् ।  
 पाण्यब्जैरभयं वरं परशुमप्याबिभ्रदन्यैस्त्रिभिः  
 धामैकं मुचुकुन्दभूपतपसां मूर्तं फलं दीव्यति ॥ २१ ॥

1. கிருஷ்ணம்முகை. 2. கிருஷ்ணங்காட்டாண்குடி. 3. वृक्षविशेषः  
 भाषया कुरुवोऽमुमाम्. इति प्रसिद्धः 4. कुरुवाण्णः.

उपमन्युः—[सप्रश्रयं अञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा]

सेवायातत्रिलोकीभरचलभुजगग्रामणीमौलिवल्ग-  
द्भूगोलस्यानुकुर्वन्निजनटनमिषादुत्सवेचोत्सवेच ।  
सायुज्यं बिम्बदम्भाद्ददिव पदयोरात्मनीहानतानां  
पातु श्रीत्यागराजस्त्रिदशपुरवधूनेत्रकण्डूयिताङ्गः ॥ २२ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! इतोऽपि दीयतां दक्षिणेन चक्षुः ।

फालान्तर्ज्वलदाशुशुक्षणिशिखादाहातिरेकादिव  
प्राप्तः सिन्धुतटं तरङ्गनटनक्रीडत्कणालीजलम् ।  
आपिङ्गेन जटाभरेण परमप्यौर्वानलं दर्शयन्  
१वेदारण्यगतो विभुर्विजयते संवर्तमौहूर्तिकः ॥ २३ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—को इमो विसालदीहो विविधमणिचित्तिओ पसुत्तस्स जम्बूदीवसव्वहोमस्स  
किरीटं विअ दीसइ । (कोऽयं विशालदीर्घः विविधमणिचित्रितः  
प्रसुप्तस्य जम्बूद्वीपसार्वभौमस्य किरीटमिव दृश्यते ?

उपमन्युः— समुत्पाटितपौलस्त्यजयध्वजविडम्बकः ।  
पापवन्याच्छिदाहेतुः २सेतुरेष महोदधौ ॥ २४ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—[सरोमाञ्चम्]

यो लङ्कारत्नसंघाहरणकृतधियः प्रेर्यमाणः पुरो वा  
जम्बूद्वीपस्य बाहू रघुकुलजनुषां वा प्रशस्तेर्विवर्तः ।  
शैलैराख्यन्विशालैः कपिसुभटभुजस्तम्भदम्भोलिसारं  
कस्यानन्दाय नायं दशवदनकुलोत्पादकेतुः ३ स सेतुः ॥ २५ ॥

किञ्च

विचित्ररत्नजातस्य यस्य हारलताकृतेः ।

रामनाथाभिधं तेजः मध्येतन्नायकायते ॥ २६ ॥

इदञ्च किञ्चित्पश्चादुदीचीदेशे मीनाक्षीकटाक्षवीक्षणनिर्धूतकल्मषनिर्मलं शहाला-  
स्याभिधानं क्षेत्रं भगवतः । यत्र खलु—

विलासैर्विश्वेषामपि जनयदाश्चर्यमनघैः

कुलं यत्पाण्ड्यानामखिलकुलमौलौ कलयते ।

महस्तन्मीनाक्षीसहचरितधर्मः प्रतिनवैः

कटाक्षैराक्षिप्य प्रणतजनदुःखानि जयति ॥ २७ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—(उत्तरेणापि साश्चर्यम्—) आइरिअ ! को इमो आदिमशिल्पिनिम्मिदो  
विअ अभ्भंकसवरणगोउरमण्डवमण्डिओ देवालओ

[आचार्य ! कोऽयमादिमशिल्पिनिर्मित इवाभ्रंकषवरणगोपुरमण्डपमण्डितो  
देवालयः ?]

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! तदिदमधिकवेरीतटमाजानसिद्धमपवर्गदेवतागर्भगृहमम्बिकार-  
मणस्य भक्तजनशरण्यमतिपुण्यं रगजारण्यं नाम क्षेत्रम् ।

कौण्डिन्यः—(समन्तादवलोक्य । )

वीहीओ वोहीओ समन्दो तासु तासु सुघराइ ।

तेसुअ तेसुअ सुअणा ताणं ताणं मणम्मि परमेसो ॥ २८ ॥

अविअ— अणग्घमणिचित्तिअन्तरगवक्स्वरिञ्छोलिआ-  
वलन्तललणामुखेन्दुरुहचन्दिआलिङ्गिदम् ॥

असेसनिअमाअमपसुरविष्पपुण्णन्तरम्  
करेइ मह कौटुअं पुरमिदं गजारणियम् ॥ २९ ॥

(वीध्यो वीध्यः समन्ततः तासु तासु सुगृहाणि ॥  
तेषुच तेषुच सुजनाः तेषां तेषां मनःसु परमेशः ॥

अपि च ।

अनर्धमणिचित्रितान्तरगवाक्षरिं<sup>१</sup>च्छोलिका  
बलललनामुखेन्दुरुचिचन्द्रिकालिङ्गितम् ॥  
अशेषनिगमागमप्रचुरविप्रपूर्णान्तरम्  
करोति मम कौतुकं पुरमिदं गजारण्यकम् ॥)

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! स्थाने खलु भवतः कौतुकम् ।

कण्ठस्तम्भितकालकूटगरलच्छायानुतप्तेरिव  
प्रस्निग्धैरतिमेचकैर्दलकुलैस्संरुद्धसिद्धाध्वनः  
मूले जम्बुतरोः मुमुक्षुभिरसौ मृग्यो दरीदृश्यते  
देवस्त्रैपुरदानवेन्दुवदनाताटङ्ककुम्भीलकः ॥ ३० ॥

उपमन्युः—(सप्रश्रयमञ्जलिं बध्वा)

अन्योन्यव्यतिषङ्गभङ्गुरतरैः श्यामारुणैरोचिषां  
सन्दोहैः पुनरुक्तयन्त्रविरतं सव्येतरान्दोलितैः ।  
प्रायो जाम्बवपर्णपल्लवचयं प्रत्यग्रमन्दस्मितै-  
रप्याकल्पनिशाकरांशुलहरीं देवो जगत्त्रायताम् ॥ ३१ ॥

हन्त ! अगोचरो गिराममुप्य गजारण्यस्य महिमा ।



सिन्दूरैरिव कुङ्कुमैरिव जपापुष्पैरिवोन्निद्रितै  
 बन्धूकैरिव विद्रुमैरिव कलह्वालेन्दुकोपैरिव ।  
 लिम्पन्ती नवपद्मरागशकलप्रख्यैः त्विषां कन्दलैः  
 भूगोलं करुणामयी विजयते यत्राखिलाण्डेश्वरी ॥ ३२ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स पुरस्तादनुकावेरीतीरं पञ्चायुधभञ्जनस्य १पञ्चनदं नाम क्षेत्रम् ।  
 अत्रहि—

प्रचलितजटास्फाटः साटोपकङ्कणनिकणः  
 स्थिरतरपदन्यासः ब्रह्मादिवन्द्यपदाम्बुजः ॥  
 अकृतकगवीगुम्भैरध्यापितातनुवैभवः  
 शशधरकलाकल्पो जप्येश्वरोऽस्तु सुखाय नः ॥ ३३ ॥

उपमन्युः—(सहर्षम्) तात ! इतश्च कृतार्थयति लोचने

२क्षेत्रमेकाधिकरणं मङ्गलानामिदं पुरम्  
 आस्ते कल्याणरुचिरः शङ्करो यत्र सुन्दरः ॥ ३४ ॥

किञ्चात्र—

विस्मयेण चिरं तदात्वसुलभां लज्जां विजित्योन्नतम्  
 पार्वत्यानमयन् करेण वदनाम्भोजं मुहुर्लीलया  
 तैस्तैर्माङ्गलिकैरलंकृतवपुः भक्तस्य वैवाहिकं  
 वेषं दर्शयितुं मुनेश्चुलुकिताम्बोधेः वपुर्दाव्यति ॥ ३५ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—दृश्यतामिदं ३दक्षिणावर्तीभिधानमायतनं देवस्य । अयञ्च प्रणम्यतां  
 श्वेतगणपतिः ।

उपमन्युः—(विहस्य) मन्ये नाभिनन्दति देवोऽयं दन्तिवक्त्रः । यत एतस्मिन्—

नमस्कृत्योत्थातुं सुचिरमपटौ तुन्दिलतया  
पदाभ्यां पाणिभ्यामपि च शिरसा स्पृष्टधरणौ ।  
घटीयन्त्रच्छायामनुभवति शुभ्रे गणपतौ  
जगत्पित्रोरासीत्स्मितविकसितं वक्त्रकमलम् ॥ ३६ ॥

(उभौ हसतः)

व्याघ्रपादः—इतश्च पश्य पुरस्तात् ।

पुण्यं पुण्यमिति ब्रुवन्ति सकलस्थानानि गृहीमहे  
कस्मात्क्षेत्रमिदं जगत्सु विदितं श्रीकुम्भघोणाभिधम् ।  
यत्रायं परिमुक्तराजतगिरिप्रीतिप्रकर्षो दया-  
पारावास्तरङ्गरङ्गनयनो जागर्ति कुम्भेश्वरः ॥ ३७ ॥

उपमन्युः—तात ! इतश्च पातकबीजभर्जनं रमध्यार्जुनं नामावधीयतां क्षेत्रं देवस्य  
महेश्वरस्य । अयञ्च महति लिङ्गे सन्निधत्ते महादेवः ॥

लोकानयं हि घोराऽसह्यभवाम्भोनिमज्जनादातान् ।  
उद्धरति पुण्ययोगे सह्यभवांभोनिमज्जनादेव ॥ ३८ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(सबहुमानम् )

तांस्तांस्तत्र च तत्र दैवतगणान् स्थानेषु भक्त्या चिरं  
ध्यायामः प्रणुमः स्तुमः किमपरं किं किं न कुर्मो वयम् ।

देवस्यास्य दयाम्बुधेः भगवतः मध्यार्जुने दीव्यतः  
किन्त्वग्रे न हि देवतान्तरपुरस्कारं बहूकुर्महे ॥ ३९ ॥

(किञ्चित्प्रागुत्तरेणावलोक्य) वत्स पश्य—

\*यस्यां शुश्रुम तां चिरन्तनकवेर्वाचं पदं शाम्भवं  
गन्तेत्येव समं चतुर्दशगृहीविप्रैः समुत्पत्स्यते ॥  
शैवानां सुकृतं सुदर्शनगुरुः भूलोकभूषायितः  
सैषा कल्पकनायिकाकरुणया कलोल्लितश्रीःपुरी ॥ ४० ॥

किं बहुना, सद्यमुतातीरसिकताअपि शिवलिङ्गानि । उक्तञ्च भगवता ।

कवेरजायामाद्यन्ते दृश्यन्ते सिकतास्तु याः ।  
तत्तीरे वाऽपि लिङ्गानि तानि मे न हि संशयः ॥ ४१ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—को एसो उत्तरेण कवेरसुदं उवसण्णो पदेसो [कएषउत्तरेणकवेरसुतामुपसन्नः  
प्रदेशः]

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! २वृद्धाचलाभिधं धाम देवस्स पुरवैरिणः ॥  
मण्डयत्यन्तिकं यस्य मणिमुक्ताभिधा नदी ॥ ४२ ॥

उपमन्युः—(ततः किञ्चिदुत्तरेणावलोक्य) सफल्यति जन्म भगवान् ३अपीतकुचनायिका-  
नाथः । (अञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा)

१. कल्लुसुआरं. २. वृत्तुत्तासलम्. ३. त्रिरुवण्णण्णमल्लयिषिरुक्कुम् अम्पिके  
एण्णण्णम्.

\*चतुर्दशगृहीविप्रैः सममेव शाम्भवं पदं गन्ता शैवानां सुकृतं भूलोकभूषायितः  
सुदर्शनगुरुः यस्यां समुत्पत्स्यत इति चिरन्तनकवेः तां वाचं शुश्रुम, सैषा कल्पकनायिका-  
करुणया कलोल्लितश्रीः पुरी इतियोजना ॥ सुदर्शनाचार्यः स्वाम्रहारस्थितैः विप्रैस्साकं  
कैलासस्थानं भेजे । तथैवाशरीरिणी वाक् पूर्वं प्रादुर्बभूव इति एतत्क्षेत्रसंबन्धिनी  
हरदत्ताचार्यकथाऽत्रानुसंधेया ॥

१आधाराचलकैतवादतिचिरं पिण्डीकृतं पावकं  
रक्षन् दग्धुमिवाखिलं प्रतिमुहुः कल्पान्तकाले जगत् ।  
पायान्नः करुणामृतोर्मिशरणैरालोकनैरानतान्  
एणाङ्गाद्धशिखायुतः स भगवान् शोणाचलाधीश्वरः ॥ ४३ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—इदञ्च कामाक्षीकटाक्षसमक्षितसकलसौभाग्यं रकाञ्चीपुराभिधानं धाम  
देवस्य । अत्र हि ।

सेवौत्सुक्यावतीर्णत्रिदशसहचरीपाणिपद्मावलम्ब-  
क्रीडासंभेदसद्यःपुलकितविटपाटोपनीरन्ध्रितस्य ।  
मूले चूतद्रुमस्य प्रतिनवकिसलग्रन्थिशङ्काप्रदायि  
प्रायः पश्यल्ललाटं जयति जनिमतां जङ्गमं भाग्यमेकम् ॥ ४४ ॥

कौण्डिन्यः—(पुरोऽवलोक्य,) आइरिअ दस्त्रिखणकेलासणामहेयं भअवदो कालहत्थीस-  
रस्स आट्ठणम् । जत्त पामरस्स वि किलाअकुमारस्स तारिसो सिवप्प-  
सादो ति किंवदन्ती [आचार्य ! ३दक्षिणकैलासनामधेयं भगवतः काल-  
हस्तीश्वरस्यास्थानम् । यत्र पामरस्यापि किरातकुमारस्य तादृशः शिवप्र-  
सादः] इति किंवदन्ती।

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! स एवायमत्र निष्कारणवत्सलो भगवानम्बिकानाथः सन्निधत्ते ।

उपमन्युः—(सोत्प्राप्तं देवंप्रत्यञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा)

अहह शबरयूनः पादुकाघातवेग-  
व्रणकिणकठिनं ते कालहस्तीश ! शीर्षम् ।  
चरणकमलमप्यालोच्य मानोन्नतायाः  
गिरिवरतनयायाः कम्पते मानसं मे ॥ ४५ ॥

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(उत्तरेणावलोक्य) एतच्च शमयति चाक्षुषम् जडिमानमम्बायाः अमराम्बिकायाः प्रसादेन साधकानामचिरेण सर्वसिद्धिप्रदं धाम देवस्य <sup>1</sup>श्रीपर्वताभिधानम् । प्रणम्यतामयञ्च भगवान्मल्लिकार्जुनः ।

**उपमन्युः**—(प्रणम्यञ्जलिबद्धा)

+देवानां वदनं यदाहुरिह यद्भक्त्या जुहोत्यस्य यत्  
पक्षे तत्प्रतिबन्दि यद्यदपि तत्पुष्पं यदेतद्भवम् ।  
क्रोडो यस्य तदेतदन्तरमदो यस्यैव घण्टापथः  
तान्येतानि वपूंषि दैवतमणेस्तन्वन्तु मे मङ्गलम् ॥ ४६ ॥

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(उत्तरेण हस्तं प्रसार्य) अयमत्र सप्तगोदावरीहारलतैकमहानायकः भगवान्  
<sup>2</sup>भीमेश्वरः ॥ अस्य हि—

नृत्ताडम्बरकम्पमानवसुधावल्गाद्धरित्रीधर-  
क्षोभालोकनसंभ्रमात्ततइतो लीनेषु तारेष्वपि ।  
तत्कालप्रचलज्जटातरलितस्वर्लोककलोलिनी-  
कलोलवलिशीकरैस्तबकितं तारैरिवाभून्नभः ॥ ४७ ॥

(सर्वे नमस्यन्ति)

1. ஸ்ரீபர்வதாभि.

2. பீமேஸ்வரர்.

+ या सृष्टिरिति वदयं श्लोकोऽष्टमूर्तिप्रतिपादनपरः । तान्येतानि वपूंषि मङ्गलं तन्वन्त्विति योजना । वपूंषि विशिनष्टि—देवानामिति—यद्वपुः अग्निरूपं देवानां वदनमाहुः, “अग्निमुखा वै देवा” इति श्रुतेः । यत् यजमानरूपं इहाग्नौ भक्त्या जुहोति । यत् आदित्यरूपम् अस्य यजमानस्य पक्षे, आदित्यस्य यजमानपक्षसंबन्धः बृहदारण्यकादिषु प्रसिद्धः । यत् जलरूपं तत्प्रतिबन्दि सूर्यविरोधि, शीतोष्णत्वाभ्यां विरोधात् । यद्यपि चन्द्ररूपम् तत्पुष्पम् “चन्द्रमा वा अपां पुष्पमिति” श्रुतेः । यद्यपि भूरूपम् एतद्भवम्, “अन्नयः पृथिवी” इति श्रुतेः यस्य आकाशरूपस्य तदेतदन्तरम् पृथिवीचन्द्रमसोरन्तरम् क्रोडः मध्यं, यस्य वायोरदः आकाशरूपम् घण्टापथः राजमार्गः वायोराकाशसञ्चारित्वात् ॥

उपमन्युः—तात !

गिरिर्मूलेनोर्व्यामहिपतिफणालीं विषमयन्  
प्रविष्टेन प्रायः प्रमदयति विन्ध्योऽयमधुना ।  
अगस्त्याज्ञाभारोच्चलदुपलनिष्ट्यूतसलिल-  
प्रवाहाऽतर्क्येयं परिवहति भेवायदुपरि ॥ ४८ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—वत्स ! पारेपश्चिमपयोधि पश्य रगोर्कर्णनामकं क्षेत्रम् । यत्रायं पुरसंहार-  
निदानं भगवान् हरः ॥

उपमन्युः—(बद्धांजलिः)

रथस्योर्ध्वं चक्रे तदुपरि च सूतोऽस्य वदने  
तुरंगास्तन्मृग्यस्समजनि शरः तस्य शयनम् ।  
गुणस्तन्मौल्यग्रे धनुरपि स यस्याखिलजगद्  
विलक्षो धानुष्को वितरतु जयं नश्चिरतरम् ॥ ४९ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—३प्रभासाख्यमिदं क्षेत्रं लोकनाथस्य शूलिनः ।  
यत्र वासेन मर्त्यानां कैवल्यं तु वशंवदम् ॥ ५० ॥

पुरस्तादवलोक्य—वत्स ! पश्य ! पश्य !

भवजलनिधिनौका पापवन्याकुठारा  
सगरतनयनाकारोहसोपानपङ्क्तिः ।  
किमपरमियमग्रे देवदेवस्य शंभो  
रपि मकुटविभूषा दृश्यते जङ्घुकन्या ॥ ५१ ॥

(सहर्षम्) वत्स !

तटीमध्यासीनाश्चलितलहरीप्रान्तरमरु-  
त्किशोरव्यावल्गत्पृषितजटिलां दिव्यसरितः ।  
मुमुक्षैदम्पर्यव्यवसितमनीषाः कतिपये  
समाधौ निष्णातास्त्रुटिमिव नयन्ते बहुसमाः ॥ ५२ ॥

इतश्चावलोक्य—

१एषा पुरी भगवतः परमेश्वरस्य  
वाराणसीति महिता भुवि राजधानी ।  
तत्वावबोधमपि यत्र विना शरीर-  
त्यागेन जन्तुरुपयात्यपुनर्भवत्वम् ॥ ५३ ॥

उपमन्युः—तात ! सर्वेऽपि लोकाः काशीकाशीति प्रशंसन्तीमाम् ॥ अस्यां हि—

गरलं जटा भुजङ्गा भस्म कृशानुश्च चर्म वैयाघ्रम् ॥  
देहमुचां फलमेतत्तथापि केयं प्रशस्तिरेतस्याः ॥ ५४ ॥

व्याधपादः—(सस्मितम्)

पञ्चशरभञ्जनस्य प्रसादनिक्षेपभाजनीभूता ।  
एषा मुक्तिपुरन्ध्रीसैरन्ध्री जयति कापि काशीति ॥ ५५ ॥

(विमृश्य सानन्दम्) अगोचरः खलु गिरामस्या महिमा वाराणस्याः । यत  
एतस्याम्—

जन्तूनामन्त्यकाले भवभयशमनं तारकं कर्णमूले  
जल्पन्नुत्संगतरूपे गुरुतरकरुणासारखिन्नावलोकः ।

केनाप्युत्पत्तिभाजामधिमहि तपसा दृक्पथे वर्तमानः

देवः श्रीविश्वनाथो जयति हि जगतामादिमो देशिकेन्द्रः ॥ ५६ ॥

(दूरतोऽवलोक्य) वत्स ! इतश्च नैमिशबदरिकाश्रमानुत्तरेण प्रणम्यतां <sup>१</sup>केदारनाथः ।।

उपमन्युः—(साञ्जलिबन्धम् )

वामाङ्गवर्धितमनोभववैभवाय

त्रय्यङ्गनाचिकुररत्नविभूषणाय ।

साम्बाय वाङ्मनसदूरमहामहिम्ने

केदारनाथ ! भवतेऽस्तु नमश्शिवाय ॥ ५७ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(उत्तरतोऽवलोक्य) अयंखलु श्वशुरोदेवस्य, देव्याअपिप्रसविता सर्वमङ्गलाया.

हिमालयो नाम शैलराजः ॥

पश्य—

एष प्रालेयशैलः कलयति नयनानन्दमुत्तुङ्गशृङ्ग-

त्वङ्गद्गङ्गातरङ्गस्थपुटितविकटग्रावपूताखिलाशः ।

एतस्मिन्नप्यशेषप्रसवमलिकुलग्रन्थिनीरन्ध्रलीनैः

पश्यावश्यायबृन्दैः कुसुममयमिवालोक्यते पादपानाम् ॥ ५८ ॥

अयं हि—

पयःप्रसृतनिर्झरीझलझलप्रवेगोज्वल-

न्मरुत्प्रवरपाटितद्रुमविटङ्कितप्रान्तरः ।

दरीमुखविनिस्सरन्मुखसरीसृपप्रोच्चल-

त्फणामणिघृणिच्छटाद्युमणिरोचिरुद्दीपितः ॥ ५९ ॥



उपमन्युः— अयञ्च विलोक्यतामखिलगिरिराजन्यः१ हेमाचलः—

सन्त्यन्ये गिरयः परःशतममी किं वर्ण्यतामौन्नती  
मेरोरस्य विधातृविष्टपमपि प्रस्थान्तरे विभ्रतः ।  
यच्छृङ्गान्तरसङ्गतानि परितो ब्रह्माण्डवृन्दान्यमू-  
न्यातन्वन्ति तरुक्षुपान्तरमधुक्षौद्रच्छटाविभ्रमम् ॥ ६० ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(सबहुमानम् )

यल्लिप्साविषयः समस्तजगतां तत्काञ्चनं विग्रहः  
या धात्री सकलोपकारजननी साप्येनमालम्बते ।  
यं लब्धुं तनुते तपांसि जनता स ब्रह्मलोकः श्रय  
त्येनं सर्वगुणोत्तरो गिरिरयं वर्ण्येत किं वाग्भिभिः ॥ ६१ ॥

उपमन्युः—(सधिक्कारम् ) अयं खलु मेरुः ।

अत्युच्चोऽपि पुरद्विषः करतलाकृष्टोऽलिकान्तस्फुर-  
द्वह्निज्वालविलीनविग्रहतया भूयस्तरामानमन् ।  
मौर्वीभूतभुजङ्गपुङ्गवगराक्रान्तिक्रियाविल्ललः  
बाणं प्रेरयितुं न हि प्रभुरभूत्कर्तुं समां ज्यामपि ॥ ६२ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(सस्मितम् ) वत्स ! एवमिदम् ।

तदात्वे त्रैनेत्रालिकपुटनटद्वोरदहन-  
स्फुलिङ्गप्राग्भारैर्द्रवति सकलेऽङ्गे ऽस्य हि गिरेः ।  
शरीभूताब्जाक्षोत्तरलवनमालामधुझरी-  
निपातो मध्ये चेन्न वद कथमास्तां पुनरयम् ॥ ६३ ॥

उपमन्युः—(पुरोऽवलोक्य सानन्दम्) उत्तरोत्तरेषामभ्युदयानामुपरिवर्तमिहे । यत  
इदानीमग्रतः समग्रमावहतिनयनयोरातिथ्यमपरोक्षितमहोक्षलाञ्छनवि-  
लासः १ कैलासः ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(साश्चर्यमवलोक्य)

अधश्चालोक्यन्ते विवृतविटपाः स्फाटिकमये  
प्ररूढा यच्छृङ्गे प्रतिफलनलाभेन तंरवः ।  
पुनानस्त्रैलोक्यं पवनचलशैवांग्रिरजसा  
गिरीन्द्रः कैलासः किसलयति कौतूहलमयम् ॥ ६४ ॥

हन्त ! प्रतीहारभूमेः संभ्रमः । यदेतस्याम्—

ब्रह्मा विष्णुरिन्द्रशशी सुरपतिश्शक्रो यमः पाशभृत्  
यक्षेशोऽपि धनञ्जयः किमपरं ये सन्ति ते नाकिनः ।  
याचन्ते चटु\*भिः कृताञ्जलिपुटाः विज्ञापनीया वयं  
देवायेति समागताश्चिरममी दौवारिकानीशितुः ॥ ६५ ॥

उपमन्युः—(पुरोऽवलोक्य सानन्दम्)

एततस्थावरजंगमात्मकमहो विश्वं दयाम्भोनिधेः  
जातं जीवति नश्यति प्रतिकलं यस्मात्पुरस्ताद्विभोः ।  
पारे यं तमसां समाधिशरणाः पश्यन्ति योगीश्वराः  
सोऽयं ब्रह्म सनातनं विजयते सिंहासने धूर्जटिः ॥ ६६ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(अञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा)

सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तमाहुरमलं यं ब्रह्म वेदान्तिनः  
 सर्गस्थित्यपहारकैस्त्रिषु गुणैः योऽयं त्रिधा भिद्यते ।  
 प्रायो वाञ्छनसातिदूरमहसे तस्मै नमश्शेषिणे  
 देवेशाय ऽदशाव्ययाय जगतामीड्याय तुभ्यं नमः ॥ ६७ ॥

(इति प्रणम्योत्थाय समन्तादवलोक्य, दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दमभिनीय सानन्दम्)

किमिदं दक्षिणमीक्षणमविरतमाकम्पमानमास्ते मे ।  
 जानेऽचिरमपरोऽपि च शिवप्रसादो भविष्यति प्रायः ॥ ६८ ॥

(निवृत्य अधिकान्तारदत्तदृष्टिः) हन्त सहस्र शिशिरांशवः प्रवर्तन्ते देवदेवमानन्तुम् ।  
 उपमन्युः—तात ! पश्य पश्य ! एक एव—

नैकस्फटामणिगणद्युतिमम्प्रदायः  
 शोणीकृतस्फटिकभूतलसन्निवेशः ।  
 दीपो निवात इव निश्चलगात्रयष्टिः  
 कोणे तपस्यति कुहापि फणी क एषः ॥ ६९ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—(सानन्दम्)—

शोणीभूतं मौलिरत्नांशुजालैः  
 भूयोभूयः कायकान्तिप्ररोहैः ।  
 प्रत्यापत्तिं प्रापयन् स्फटिकाद्रिं  
 शय्या विष्णोः सोऽयमग्रे फणीन्द्रः ॥ ७० ॥

न जाने किन्निमित्तोऽयमस्य तपस्यायामीदृशोऽभिनिवेशः ।

१. दश अव्ययानि यस्य तस्मै । तानि च—

ज्ञानम् विरागैश्चर्यं तपः सत्यम् क्षमा धृतिः । स्रष्टृत्वमात्मबोधो ह्यधिष्ठातृत्वमेव च ॥  
 अभ्ययानि दशैतानि नित्यं तिष्ठन्ति क्षेत्रे ।

सकृत् दृष्टेऽपि सर्पाणामस्मिन् परिवृढे मुहुः ।  
सख्याविव चिरक्षुण्णे विस्रम्भमयने मनः ॥ ७१ ॥

(नेपथ्ये)

पलायन्तां विश्वे प्रविशत गुहा वा मुनिजनाः  
न वः स्थातुं कालो गरुडमनुमुच्चैर्जपत वा ।  
फर्णा कश्चिन्मौलिस्फुरितमणिरश्मिव्यतिकरः  
प्रमृष्टान्तर्ध्वान्तः प्रविशति रयातिल्वविपिनम् ॥ ७२ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—[साश्चर्यम् ] वत्स किमेतत् ?

उपमन्युः—अचिन्त्यो हि प्रभावो देवदेवस्य; तमेवागतमुत्प्रेक्षे ॥

(नेपथ्ये)

तपोभिरपि तोषयन्मगवदाज्ञयाऽत्रेर्मुनेः  
पतञ्जलिरिति श्रुतश्शिशुतयाञ्जलौ संपतन् ।  
उपैति फणिनायको विलमुखान्मुखैः पञ्चभि—  
स्समस्तजनदर्शनक्षममुपेत्य शान्तं वपुः ॥ ७३ ॥

(उभौ प्रमोदमानौ तिष्ठतः) (ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टरूपः पतञ्जलिः  
परिक्रम्यावलोक्य च)

पतञ्जलिः—हन्त संप्राप्तोऽस्मि सकललोकपावनं तिलववनम् । तत्कुतो भगवदनु-  
चरवियोगविह्वलमात्मानं ताण्डवालोकेनसब्रह्मचारिणो व्याघ्रपादस्य  
दर्शनेन विनोदयामि (उपसर्पति)

**उपमन्युः**—तात ! अस्मानेवान्वेषयति भगवान् पतञ्जलिः । व्याघ्रपादः (सानन्दसम्रममु-  
त्थाय कतिचित्पदानि गच्छति)

**पतञ्जलिः**—(उपसृत्य सस्नेहमालिङ्ग्य) सखे ! व्याघ्रपाद भगवत आनन्दताण्डवं  
द्रष्टासि ।

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(आलिङ्गन्नेव शिथिलभुजः आनन्द्राश्रुपिहितलोचनः मूर्च्छामभिनयति )

**उपमन्युः**—(उत्थाप्य) तात ! अतिथिरयमर्हणीयः खलु पाद्यादिभिः (व्याघ्रपादः  
संज्ञामधिगच्छति)

**उपमन्युः**—(सविनयम् ) भगवन् उपमन्युरहमभिवादये ।

**पतञ्जलिः**—वत्स ! किमन्यदाशास्महे —

न परं शिवदत्तेन धवलं दुग्धसिन्धुना ।

उत्पत्तिशिष्टैर्भावत्कैर्यशोभिरपि भूतलम् ॥ ७४ ॥

(कौण्डिन्यो नमस्करोति)

**पतञ्जलिः**—वत्स ! सकलविद्यापारंगतो भूयाः

**व्याघ्रपादः**—भगवन् निदाघे तप्तस्येव चातकस्य धाराधरो जीवातुरसि तापाकुलस्यास्य  
जनस्य । भगवद्दर्शनानन्द एव मुखरयति, कथयतु को भवानिति

**पतञ्जलिः**—सखे ! व्याघ्रपाद ! अहमस्मि भगवतः कैटभशासनस्य पर्यङ्कभूतो भुजंगम-  
राजन्यशेषो नाम

व्याघ्रपादः—(साश्चर्यम्) तादृशस्य मनुजदर्शनसुलभं वपुरिति महदिदमाश्चर्यम्

पतञ्जलिः—श्रूयताम् । कदाचिदहमिन्दिराकरारविन्दसंवाह्यमानचरणपुण्डरीकस्याभिनवकदम्बमुकुलडंबरविडम्बकसान्द्रतरपुलकमंजरीभूषितसर्वाङ्गस्य निरन्तरनिष्पतदानन्दबाष्पनिष्पीतविमलकपोलमण्डलस्य सायन्तनपुण्डरीकवैतण्डिकाञ्जलिरुचिवीचिपुनरुक्तमकुटमणिकलापस्य शरणागतूरक्षणदीक्षितस्य भगवतो नारायणस्य शरीरभारं वोढुमक्षममाणः भयकातरविवृतमुखसहस्रनिस्सरन्निःशेषपवनतया परिपाण्डुदुकूलायमानमङ्गमनुभाविष्यमाणतादृशशिवप्रसादरूपभागधेयपरंपराया दुस्त्यजत्वादादधानः कथंकथमपि सन्निहितमुखनिर्धूतसमारब्धदुरुच्चारक्षरसन्निवेशं शनैश्शनैः पुण्डरीकाक्षमप्राक्षम्, यथा कोऽयमननुभूतपूर्वो भारो देवदेवस्येति ।

व्याघ्रपादः—(सत्वरम्) ततस्ततः ।

पतञ्जलिः—ततश्च भगवान् सादरमिदमन्वग्रहीत् । वत्स ! दारुकावनमुनिजनानुजिघृक्षया कृताहिण्डनस्य भगवतो नीलकण्ठस्य परमानन्दताण्डवमस्मार्षमिति

व्याघ्रपादः—(सानन्दम्) ततस्ततः ।

पतञ्जलिः—ततश्चाहमपि परमानन्दकन्दलितान्तःकरणवृत्तिः देव ! अयमप्यनुगृह्यतामात्मनीनो भृत्यो देवताण्डवावलोकनोपायं प्रदर्शनेनेत्यन्वरुन्धं भगवन्तम् ।

व्याघ्रपादः—(सरोमाञ्चमानन्दगद्गदकण्ठः ।) ततस्ततः ।

पतञ्जलिः—ततश्च, वत्स ! न सकलसुलभमीशितुरानन्दताण्डवदर्शनं ततः तपसित्वा प्रीणय देवदेवमिति सदयमितिकर्तव्यतामुपदिश्य प्रास्थापयदच्युतोऽपि माम् ।

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(सादरम् ) ततस्ततः ।

**पतञ्जलिः**—ततश्च कैलासगिरिरधित्यकामधिगत्य देवोपदिष्टयैव दिशा महति तपसि वर्तमानस्य पुरो मम गगनतलजंघालगरुदञ्चलानिलदोधूयमानबलाहक-  
शकलैरनेकैर्मरालैरुद्यमानं विमानमारूढः परमेष्ठी सहपरिजनैस्सन्निहितः,  
वत्स ! वरं वृणीष्व, वरदोऽहमागत इत्याबभाषे .

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(सानुशयम् ) ततस्ततः ।

**पतञ्जलिः**—ततोऽहमपि पुनःपुनरनुरुद्धः देव नीलकण्ठादन्येन केनापि न प्रयोजनम् ,  
प्रयोजनञ्च तदानन्दताण्डवमिति प्रत्याख्यातः स एव वृषभाधिरूढो  
देव्या सह सर्वमङ्गलया क्षणाददृश्यत ।

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(सानन्दम्) ततस्ततः ।

**पतञ्जलिः**—ततश्च कृतप्रणामञ्च मां शिरस्युपाग्राय “ वत्स ! आलोकयिष्यसि  
मदीयमानन्दताण्डवम् ; इतः सन्निहिते गुरुपुण्ययोगे साधय तिल्ववनम् ,  
यत्रेदमेवोद्दिश्य तपस्यति पुरुषव्याघ्रो व्याघ्रपाद” इति सप्रसादमादिक्षत् ।

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(मूच्छ्रामभिनयति)

**पतञ्जलिः**—सखे समाश्वसिहि ।

**व्याघ्रपादः**—(समाश्वस्य पतञ्जलिमालिङ्गन् )

मन्वाना गगनारविन्दकलिकासौरभ्यमेतावतीं  
वेलामीश्वरताण्डवं प्रति मुहुश्शङ्काकलङ्काकुलाः ।

स त्वं कश्चन देशिःकोऽसि परमः यद्दर्शनोपक्रम  
भस्फीतानन्दधवे सुनिश्चितमिदं मन्यामहे ते वयम् ॥ ७५ ॥

पतञ्जलिः—सखे ! व्याघ्रपाद ! किमेवमभिधीयते ? तादात्विकं देवास्थानीभवं उदन्तं  
किञ्चिद्भवीमि

त्वद्वृत्तान्तविशुद्धसात्विकगुणोत्सिक्तानि तातस्ततै-  
र्देवर्षिप्रमुखैर्निजैः परिजनैराकर्ण्य कौतूहलात् ।  
सायुज्यावधि दानमानतशिराः संचिन्त्य देव्या सहै-  
वात्मानन्त्वधमर्णमेव मनुते देवः पशूनांपतिः ॥ ७६ ॥

अल्पे के बयमीदृशं तव यशः स्तोतुं विभोरग्रतः  
देवर्षिप्रमुखैस्त्वदीयचरिते प्रस्ताविते कौतुकात् ।  
प्रादुर्विस्मयनाकिकम्पितशिरःप्रेखन्मणीकुण्डल-  
स्तोमारब्धझणझणारवमयी जाता क्षणं यत्सभा ॥ ७७ ॥

व्याघ्रपादः—तवेव यस्य रसनाः सहस्रं सन्ति हि प्रभो ।

सत्त्वदीयं यशः स्तोतुं समर्थः पृथिवीतले ॥  
कञ्चि पुनरेवं तर्कयामि ॥

तादृङ्निश्चयदुर्निरूपविभवे त्वय्यञ्जसा वैधर्सी  
मूर्तिं तां प्रविहाय चन्द्रमकुटं तत्प्रादुरासीन्महः ।  
नीरोमाञ्चतया तदात्वपरमानन्दोर्मिचिह्नं चिरात्  
आनन्दाश्रुतरङ्गितास्समभवन् फुल्लाः सहस्रं दृशः ॥ ७८ ॥



पतञ्जलिः—आस्तां तदेतत् । (पुरः चित्रपटमवलोक्य) कुतोऽयं मयनाम्ना दानवेन निर्मितः सिंहवर्मणे नृपतयेः प्राग्दत्तोऽभूतपूर्वः चित्रपटः ?

उपमन्युः—वासुदेवेन गुरुदक्षिणीकृतोऽयम् । अथ मयेन किमर्थं लिखितं, दत्तञ्च सिंहवर्मणे ?

पतञ्जलिः—चित्रपटहस्त एव दृष्टः स तक्षा पृष्टश्चाचष्ट । “वाक्केलिकलहव्यतिकरे समुद्यतवज्राद्भ्रजपाणेः परित्रातोऽहं सिंहवर्मणेऽति” तिष्ठतु तदेतत्तमेव सकलमङ्गलनिदानानं गुरुपुण्ययोगं प्रतीक्षामहे ।

इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे

चतुर्थोऽङ्कः समाप्तः

श्री चिदम्बरेश्वराय नमः ॥

# श्रीः ख्यातिवादसङ्ग्रहः ।

(पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तः)

क. अ. शिवरामकृष्णशास्त्री ॥

अण्णामलैविश्वविद्यालयः ॥

शून्यवादिनस्तु असत एव ख्यातिमभिमन्यन्ते । समर्थयन्ति च तामित्थम्—

असदेव रजतं भ्रमे भासते । बाधकज्ञानेन तथावगमात् । तथाहि—नेदं रजतमिति बाधकज्ञानं पुरोवर्तिनि रजतस्य सत्त्वेऽनुपपद्यमानं तस्यासत्त्वं बोधयति । रजतस्य सत्त्वे हि तन्नैवोदियात् । उद्यद्वा रजतख्यात्या बाध्येत । तस्या यथावद्वस्तुभासकत्वेन प्राबल्यात् । अस्य चातथात्वात् । लौकिकाश्च ‘नेदं रजत’ मिति रजतस्यासत्त्वमेवावयन्ति । तस्मादसद्रजैतम् ।

ये पुनः अन्यत्र सदेव रजतम्भ्रान्तौ भाति इति ब्रुवते ते प्रष्टव्याः—किम्पुना रजतादीनामन्यत्र सत्त्वे प्रमाणम् ? भ्रान्तिज्ञानम् वा, बाधकज्ञानम् वा, तयोरनुपपत्तिर्वा, असतो भानायोगो वा । तत्र न तावद्भ्रान्तिः ; तस्याः पुरोवर्तितया रजतङ्गाहमानायाः पुरोदेशे तत्सत्त्वसाधकत्वेन अन्यत्र तदसाधकत्वात् । न च बाधकज्ञानम् ; तस्य तन्निषेधपरत्वेन तद्विधिपरत्वाभावात् । नापि भ्रान्त्यनुपपत्तिः ; तस्या अपि पुरोदेशे एव तत्सत्त्वसाधकत्वात्, तदभाव एव तदनुपपत्तेः । नापि बाधानुपपत्तिः ; बाधस्य प्रसक्तिपूर्वकत्वेन बाधाधिकरण एव तस्याः तत्सत्त्वसाधकत्वात् ।

ननु नेदं रजतमिति बाधकबाध्यन्न रजतम्, किन्तु (अन्यथाख्यात्यनुसारेण) तत्तादात्म्यं (आत्मख्यात्यनुसारेण) तद्वहिष्ठं वा । युक्तश्चास्यैव बाधः । अन्यथा रजत-

१. न-स्याद्भ्रान्तिस्तया सच्चिद्विध्यते कात्र बाध्यता ।

ततो बाधादसत्येव सद्धिर्भ्रान्तिरितीष्यताम् ॥

(इष्टसिद्धिः P. 155. Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

२. बाधोऽपि कल्पयेत्तत्र नतं प्राप्तिमसौ भवेत् ।

बाधोऽत एव नान्यत्र न तु बाध्यस्य सत्तया ॥

(Ibid P. 132)

निषेधे तस्य धर्मः तादात्म्यं बहिष्ठं वा धर्मिणं विना न स्थातुमलमिति तस्यापि बाधः स्यात् । तथा चोभयबाधनेन गौरवम् । धर्ममात्रबाधे तु धर्मिणो रजतस्य देशान्तरे बुद्धौ वा पर्यवसानम् । बाधज्ञानमपि धर्ममात्रबाधेनापि चरितार्थं भविष्यति । तथाच रजतस्य बाधकज्ञानेनासत्त्वन्न बोध्यत इति चेत्, मैवम् ; तादात्म्यमात्रनिषेधे रजतस्य निषेधाभावेन बाधानन्तरमपि तस्य भानप्रसङ्गात् । दूरस्थवनस्पत्योः तादात्म्यभ्रमबाधानन्तरम् ' नायमेकः किन्तु द्वौ वनस्पती ' इति यथा । तथा बहिष्ठनिषेधेऽपि ' नेदं रजतम् किन्तु आन्तरम् ' इति प्रतीत्यापत्तिः । आनुभाविकश्च रजतनिषेध इति लाघवमप्यत्राकिञ्चित्कैरम् । असतो भानायोगः परमवशिष्यते ।

तत्रैवम्पर्यनुयुज्यते । आन्तौ रजतपुरोवर्तिनोऽसंसर्गभानन्तावत्सर्वसम्मतं अख्याति-  
वादवर्जम् । स किं सन् ? असन्वेति । आद्ये पक्षे बाधायोगः । द्वितीये असतो भानमङ्गी-  
कृतमेवेति कथमसतो भानायोगः ? अनुभवसिद्धश्च रजतासत्त्वं कथं निह्नूयते ?

किञ्च असद्भानानुपपत्त्या कल्प्यमानमपि रजतादिकङ्कुत्र कल्प्यते ? किं यत्र भासते तत्रैव, उतान्यत्र ? यत्र भासते तत्रैव चेत्, पुरोवर्तिन्येव रजतमभादिति तत्रैव तत्कल्प्यं स्यात् । द्वितीये रजतमेव किमित्यन्यत्र कल्प्यते ? न शशविषाणादिकमपि ? उभयोरप्यन्यत्राभानस्य तुल्यत्वात् । ननु रजतं कुत्रचिद्भाति, शशविषाणादिकं तु न कुत्रापि इति विशेषदर्शना-  
दिति चेत्, गवि विषाणादिकमपि भात्येवेति शशादिषु तत् कल्प्यताम् । अथ गवि विषा-  
णादिकन्न बाध्यत इति तस्यान्यत्र सत्त्वन्न कल्प्यते । रजतन्तु इह बाध्यते, सत एव च निषेधो दृष्टः, इति तस्यान्यत्र सत्ता कल्प्यत इति चेत्, किं यत्र सत् तत्रैव निषेधः ? अथान्यत्र ? आद्ये गवि विषाणं सदिति तत्र निषिध्यताम्, कल्प्यताञ्च शशादिषु । द्वितीये

१. असम्भवि च यावच्च तावत्सम्परिहीयताम् ।

संवेद्याकारसन्त्यागो न भ्रान्तित्वेऽवकल्पते ॥

(विभ्रमविवेकः । श्लो. 3. Madras Oriental Series)

२. भ्रान्तिज्ञेये च बाह्यत्वं बाधकैर्न निरस्यते ।

न गम्यतेऽन्तर्बर्तित्वज्ञानिर्वाच्यतया मतिः ॥

(Ibid श्लो. 154.)

३. कल्पनायामपि त्वेवं नासत्ख्यातिविवर्जनम् ।

प्रकारान्तरसंसर्गो नन्वसञ्ज्ञेव भासते ॥

(Ibid श्लो. 15.)

गवि विषाणस्येव पुरोवर्तिनि रजतस्य सत्त्वेनावगततया निषेधायोगादन्यत्रैव निषेधस्यात्, नत्विह । अथान्यत्र सद्रजतमिति इह निषिध्यत इति चेत्, किमिति इह सदिति कृत्वाऽन्यत्र न निषिध्यते ? इहापि हि अन्यत्रैव रजतमवगतम् । तथापि निषिध्यते चेदन्यत्रापि निषेधः कः प्रतिबन्धीयात् । अन्यत्र सदेव रजतमिह सदिव भातीति चेत्, दत्तोत्तरमेतत् अन्यत्र सत्त्वे प्रमाणाभावादिति <sup>१</sup> ।

किञ्च रूप्यस्यान्यत्र सत्त्वङ्मथन्तवोपयुज्यते ? किं तज्ज्ञानेन ? आहो भ्रमस्य सद्रस्तु-विषयकत्वनियमेन ? नाद्यः ; देशान्तरसत्त्वज्ञानेन पुरोवर्तिभ्रमस्यानुपयोगात् । द्वितीये किमिति रजतसत्त्वैवापेक्ष्यते, न घटादिसत्ता ? ननु घटादीनां सत्त्वेऽपि ख्यातेस्तद्विषयत्वाभावेन न तैरुपयोगः । रजतसत्त्वन्तु भ्रमस्य तद्विषयत्वादुपयुज्यते इति तदेवाभ्यर्थ्यते इति चेत्, स्यादेवमुपयोगः, यदि यथा रजतम्भ्रमे भासते तथा तस्य सत्त्वमुपगम्येत । नच तथाभ्युपगम्यते । अन्यथासच्च रजतम्भ्रमस्याविषय इति को विशेषो घटसत्त्वादृजतसत्त्वस्य, येन तदेवापेक्ष्येत । ‘ सैत एवान्यथाभानम्भ्रमः ’ इत्यङ्गीकारात्तस्य सत्त्वश्चेदपेक्ष्यते तर्हि पुरोवर्तिनी सती शुक्तिकैव तामपेक्षां शमयितुमलम् इत्यलं रजतसत्त्वकल्पनाश्रमेण ।

कल्पनायैङ्गौरवञ्च । रजतस्य हि बाधप्रतीतिसिद्धमसत्त्वम् । भ्रमस्य सद्रस्तुविषयत्वनियमसमर्थनार्थं तु सत्त्वन्तस्य कल्प्यते । स चेन्नियमः शुक्तिकयैव समर्थितः, किमर्थं तस्य सत्त्वकल्पनम् । नहि गौरवादन्यत् तस्य फलमस्ति । प्रत्युत विपरीतम् ; तस्य सत्त्वे शुक्तिवद्बाधज्ञानेऽपि भानप्रसङ्गात् ।

१. सत्ताम्बेत्कल्पयेत्ख्यातिरसत्ख्यातेरयोगतः ।

यत्र यज्जाति तत्रैव तस्य ताङ्गिज्ञ कल्पयेत् ॥

तत्र बाधाञ्च कल्प्या चेदन्यत्र ख्यात्ययोगतः ।

ख्यातिं विनापि चेत्सत्ता कल्प्यते नियमः कुतः ? ॥

(इष्टसिद्धिः P. 130. Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

२. असत्ताप्यात्मना भाति सद्रूपेणान्यथा स्थिता ।

तथा भानस्य हेतुश्चेत् किं रूप्येणास्ति शुक्तिका ॥

(इष्टसिद्धिः P. 135. Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

३. एकेन सिद्धयोर्भ्रान्तिबाधयोः कल्पना द्वयोः ।

न युक्ता शुक्तिवद्रूप्यं सत्त्वेद्बाधे न भाति किम् ॥

(Ibid.)

अपिच असन्न भातीति कथम्? अभाति तस्मिन् भाननिषेधायोगात् । ज्ञाते हि धर्मिणि धर्मः कश्चिद्विधातुन्निषेद्धुश्च शक्यते, नाज्ञाते । यथा पटेऽज्ञाते तस्मिन्नीलतदभावौ । अतः सद्व्यतिरेकेणासदवश्यं ज्ञातव्यं तस्मिन्भाननिषेधायेति कथमुच्यतेऽसन्न भातीति? उच्यमानं वा “माता मे वन्द्ये” तिवत्कथं न व्याह्रियेत?

ननु असन्न भातीति नासतो भानमात्रनिषेधामः किन्तु असत्सद्रूपेण न भातीति वदाम इति चेत्, एवन्तर्ह्यन्यथाख्यातेरेव निषेधः स्यात् । अथासत्सद्रूपेण न भाति किन्तु सदेवेत्यर्थादन्यथाख्यातिरपि असत् एव निषिध्यते न सत् इति चेत्, न ; त्वदुक्तदिशा सतोऽप्यन्यथाभानासिद्धेः । नहि सतः सद्रूपेण भानमन्यथाख्यातिः केनाप्यङ्गीक्रियते । ननु सतः सद्रूपेण भानं नान्यथाख्यातिः किन्तु सदन्तरात्मना भानमेवेति चेत्, सदन्तरन्तत् किं सत्? उतासत्? आद्ये सतः सद्रूपेणैव भानमायातमिति कथमन्यथाख्यातिः । द्वितीये एकमेव सत्स्यात् सदन्तरस्यासत्त्वात् । द्वितीयवस्त्वङ्गीकारे च उभयोरप्यसत्त्वं स्यात् । उभयोरपि सदन्तरत्वात् । तथा चासतः सदन्तरस्य सदन्तरात्मना असद्रूपेण भानमन्यथाख्यातिर्वक्तव्या । तच्चासतः असद्रूपेण भानमेवेति कथमन्यथाख्यातिः । अथ स्वरूपेण सतः सदन्तरात्मना भानमन्यथाख्यातिरित्यङ्गीकुरुषे तथापि तयोरन्योन्यात्मतया सत्त्वानङ्गीकारादसत्ख्यातिरपरिहार्या स्यात् ।

ननु अत्यन्तासतः कथमिन्द्रियादिभिस्सम्बन्धः? सतोरेव हि सम्बन्धः, नासतोः, सदसतोर्वा । तथाचेन्द्रियासम्बद्धस्य कथमक्षजभ्रमे भानमिति चेत् । भवतो वा सद्रजतवादिनोऽपि देशान्तरस्थरजतस्य कथमिन्द्रिययोगः? दोषादिति चेत् । स किमिन्द्रियान्तरञ्जनयेत्? उत रजतदेशमिन्द्रियन्तयेत्? आद्ये अन्धस्यापि चाक्षुषभ्रमप्रसङ्गः । द्वितीये च चक्षुः किं रजतदेशशुक्तिदेशयोस्सन्ततम्? उत विच्छिन्नम्? नाद्यः ; मध्यवर्तिनाम्पदार्थान्तराणामपि भानप्रसङ्गात् । यथा भानुमण्डलेन सन्तन्यमाने चक्षुषि उड्डयमानस्य

१. नासत्ख्यातीति वाणीयज्ञाज्ञातेऽसति युज्यते ।

इदमीदृगिति श्रुतिज्ञातयोर्धर्मधर्मिणोः ॥

सतोऽसन्न विवेकेन गृह्यते चेदसत्कथम् ।

तस्मादसन्न भातीति माता वन्द्येतिवद्वचः ॥

(इष्टसिद्धिः P. 137. Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

२. असदक्षैरसंयोगि कथमक्षजभ्रमे ।

सदप्यक्षैरियाद्योगं कथन्देशान्तरादिगम् ॥

(इष्टसिद्धिः P. 139. Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

सुपण्दिः । असन्ततत्वे, पुरोवर्तिनी शुक्तिकापि न भासेत । अतः दोषोऽपि सहकरोत्येव चक्षुषः इति वक्तव्यम् यतो दोषसहस्रमपि न सुमेरोस्सन्निधापनायालम् । तथाच देशान्तरस्थमपि रजतन्न चक्षुषा सन्निधत्त इति तुल्योऽयन्दोष आवयोः नैकत्र पर्यनुयोगार्हः । वस्तुतस्तु संवृत्यैव रजतभ्रम इति रहस्यम् ॥

अपिच देशान्तरे सदपि रजतादिकङ्कमवयविरूपम् ? उतावयवसमुदायरूपमभ्युपगम्यते ? नाद्यः ; अवयव्यनुपलम्भप्रसङ्गात् । अवयवग्रहणाधीनं ह्यवयविग्रहणम् । न चावयवानां सर्वेषां युगपद्ग्रहणं सम्भवति । इन्द्रियसन्निकृष्टा एव हि पुरोदेशस्था गृह्येरन् । न पश्चाद्भागस्था मध्यभागस्था वा । व्यासज्य वर्तमानानाञ्च . संयोगादीनां यावदाश्रयग्रहणमन्तरा ग्रहणन्न दृष्टम् । अवयवी च अनेकेष्ववयवेषु व्यासज्य वर्तमान इति तदवयवानामग्रहे तस्यानुपलम्भ एव स्यात् । किञ्चावयवेभ्योऽवयविनोऽतिरेके तस्मिन् द्विगुणपरिमाणादेरुपलब्ध्या भवितव्यम् । अवयविनः परिमाणस्याधिकस्य सत्त्वात् । तदनुपलम्भाच्च नातिरिक्तोऽवयवी । सूक्ष्मदृष्टीनामपि अवयवव्यतिरेकेण तस्यानुपलम्भाच्च । वृत्त्यनुपपत्तेश्च । अतिरिक्तोऽवयवी स्वावयवेषु वर्तमानः कथं वर्तेत-एकदेशेन वा कात्स्न्येन वा ? आद्ये कारणावयवव्यतिरेकेणावयवाः स्युः । तच्चानिष्टम् । न हि पटादीनान्तन्तुव्यतिरेकेणान्येऽवयवाः प्रसिद्धाः । अनवस्थाप्रसङ्गश्च । एवमेव तेष्वपि वृत्तिसिद्ध्यर्थमवयवधारायाः कल्प्यमानाया विरामाभावात् । द्वितीये प्रत्यवयवमवयव्युपलम्भप्रसङ्गः, सच प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धः । अवयविवहुत्वञ्च प्रसज्येत । नच गोत्वादिवदेकस्यैवावयविनः प्रत्यवयवं विश्रान्त्यङ्गीकारात् नायन्दोष इति वाच्यम् । तथात्रादर्शनात् । किञ्चैवङ्क्रियाव्यवस्था नोपपद्येत, व्यवस्थिता हि प्रत्यवयवमवयविनः क्रिया, पद्मयाङ्गमनं, ऊधसा पयोविसर्जनमित्यादिका, सा नोपपद्येत, तस्मिन्तस्मिन्नवयवे कृत्स्नस्यावयविनो वृत्तौ ऊधसापि गमनप्रसङ्गात् । अतो नावयवी रजतादिः । नापि तदवयवाः ; तेषामप्युत्तरीत्या तदवयवेभ्योऽनतिरेकात् । नापि परमाणवः, तेषां सूक्ष्मतया बहुतया च ऐक्यस्थौल्यादिप्रतीतिविषयत्वायोगात् । नापि परमाणुसमूहः ; समूहस्य समूहिभ्योऽतिरेकानतिरेकयोः पूर्वोक्तदोषप्रसङ्गात् ।

एवम्परमाणूनामपि विकल्पासहत्वम् । तथा हि—परमाणुः किं सावयवोऽङ्गीक्रियेत निरवयवो वा ? नाद्यः ; सिद्धान्तहानेः । न द्वितीयः ; संयोगासम्भवात् । सावयवयोः खलु घटपटाद्योः संयोगो दृष्टः, न निरवयवयोः । निरवयवश्च परमाणुः परमाण्वन्तरेण संयुञ्जानः तस्मिन्नेव लीयेत, तथा च द्यणुकादौ परिमाणाधिक्यप्रथिमाद्यभावप्रसङ्गः । किञ्च, परमाणूनां यावत्यो दिशः तावतीभिस्संयोगस्यापरिहार्यतया तत्संख्याकावयवप्रसङ्गः इति परमाणुत्वमेव न स्यात् । तथा च आ ब्रह्माण्डादा च परमाणोर्वस्तुमात्रस्यासत्त्वमेव ॥

यदपि आत्मख्यातिवादिनो योगाचाराः बाह्यसत्त्वमनिच्छन्तोऽपि विज्ञानं साका-  
 ङ्गब्राह्मब्राह्मकोभयात्मकं वस्तुसदिच्छन्ति, तदपि न युक्तिमत् । एकस्यैव ब्राह्मब्राह्म-  
 कत्वानुपपत्तेः । तथाहि — विज्ञानं साकारमेकान्तत्वमिति तदभ्युपगमः । आकारश्च विज्ञा-  
 नस्य स्वात्मभूतमेवेति स्वात्मैव स्वस्य ब्राह्मं पर्यवसितम्, न ह्येवमन्यत्र दृष्टम् । न  
 चाङ्गुल्यग्रेण तदेव स्पृश्यते । यत्तु प्रदीपः स्वप्रकाशको दृष्ट इति, तदसिद्धम् । घटादेरेव  
 हि प्रदीपः प्रकाशकोऽस्माभिः अभ्युपगम्यते । तस्य ब्राह्मत्वे चक्षुरादेरेव ब्राह्मकत्वम्,  
 तेषामपि ग्रहणे धीरेव ग्राहिकेति न कस्यापि स्वब्राह्मकत्वं सम्प्रतिपन्नम्, यद्वलाद्विज्ञा-  
 नस्य तत्साध्येत । अतो न ब्राह्मब्राह्मकयोरभेदः । अपिच ब्राह्मकं विज्ञानङ्गब्राह्मादभिन्न-  
 श्चेत्, ब्राह्मवद्वहिरिदन्तयाऽनुभूयेत, ब्राह्मं वा ब्राह्मकाभेदादहमिति । नच तथा कदाप्यनु-  
 भवः । अतो भिन्नः प्रत्ययः तौ भिन्द्यादेव । अपिच ब्राह्माकारभाने ब्राह्मकाकारः किं  
 भासते ? न वा ? आद्ये व्याकारभानं स्यात् । ब्राह्मब्राह्मकयोर्दीपघटयोरिमौ दीपघटाविति  
 यथा । न च तथाऽनुभवोऽस्ति । नीलमिदमित्येकाकारस्यैवानुभवात् । द्वितीये ब्राह्मका-  
 कारवद्ब्राह्माकारोऽपि न भासेत । तस्य ततो भेदाभावात् । न ह्येकस्य वस्तुनः युगपद्-  
 ग्रहणाग्रहणे युक्तिमतो । अतो भासमानं व्याकारमेव भासेत न वा भासेतेत्येकाकारावभा-  
 सविरोधो दुष्परिहरः । ननु ब्राह्माकारस्य ब्राह्मकाकारस्य च भेदोऽस्माकमपि इष्टः । परन्तु  
 ज्ञानत्वेन तयोरभेदोऽपि इति विशेष इति चेत्, मैवम्, उभयानुगतज्ञानत्वसामान्यस्य तव  
 मतेऽभावात् । नच जातिरूपस्य तस्याभावेऽपि अपोहरूपन्तदङ्गीक्रियत एवेति वाच्यम् ।  
 ज्ञानव्यतिरिक्तस्य पदार्थस्यासत्त्वं वदतोऽज्ञानस्य पदार्थान्तरस्याभावात् । अज्ञानव्यावृत्तिः  
 खलु ज्ञानत्वम् अपोहरूपम् । तच्चाज्ञानस्याभावेन व्यावर्त्याप्रसिध्या न सिध्यतीति कथम-  
 पोहरूपन्तत् ।

ननु ज्ञानार्थयोर्भेदे परस्परपरिहारेणापि तौ गृह्येयाताम् गवाश्चाविव । नच तथा  
 गृह्येते । सहैव तु उपलभ्येते । अतस्तयोरभेदोऽङ्गीकार्य इति चेत्, न ; ऐक्येऽपि  
 सहोपलम्भानुपपत्तेः । सहोपलब्धिर्नाम साहित्योपलब्धिः । सा चैक्येऽपि न  
 दृष्टेति कथन्तयैक्यं साध्यते । उपायत्वेनापि हि सहोपलब्धिर्गतार्था नैक्यं साधयितुमलम् ।  
 अन्यथाऽऽलोकघटयोरपि सहोपलभ्यमानतयैक्यप्रसङ्गः । अथ सहोपलब्धिः एकोपलब्धिः;  
 एवमपि असिद्धिरेव । नहि येनार्थ उपलभ्यते ज्ञानेन, तेनैव ज्ञानमप्युपलभ्यते । किन्तु  
 अन्यैव तदुपलम्भः, एकस्य ब्राह्मब्राह्मकत्वानुपपत्तेरित्युक्तम् ।

ननु ज्ञानं यदि न गृह्यते, तेनागृहीतेनार्थस्यापि ग्रहो न स्यात् । उक्तं हि—  
 ‘अप्रत्यक्षोपलम्भस्य नार्थदृष्टिः प्रसिध्यती’ति । अतोऽर्थग्रहणमिच्छता ज्ञानङ्गहीतव्य-

मेवेति चेत्, न ; अगृहीतैरप्यक्षैरर्थोपलम्भदर्शनात् । अपिचार्थग्रहार्थं ज्ञानग्रहणमिच्छतः किन्धूमवत्तेनार्थग्रहणमभिप्रेतम् ? उत दीपवत् ? नाद्यः ; अर्थानुमेयत्वप्रसङ्गात् । त्वया च तदनङ्गीकारात् । नान्त्यः ; दीपघटयोरिव उभयोरपि ग्रहणप्रसङ्गात् । ज्ञानोत्पत्तेरेव चार्थदृष्टिः सिध्यतीति न तदुपलब्ध्यर्थमपि ज्ञानोपलब्धिरावश्यकि । अतोऽयुक्तमिदम्— ‘अप्रत्यक्षोपलम्भस्य नार्थदृष्टिः प्रसिध्यती’ति । यत्पुनरुक्तम् उत्पद्यमानस्य ज्ञानस्य घटादिवज्जडत्वाभावात्प्रतिबन्धकाभावाच्च ग्रहणमावश्यकमिति, तदपि न सम्यक् । नहि प्रतिबन्धकाभावमात्रेण कार्योत्पत्तिः, किन्तु सामग्र्या, ज्ञानोत्पत्तिकाले च सामग्र्यभावात् कथन्तदुपलम्भापादैर्नम् ।

किञ्च बाह्यार्थमपलप्य वासनाभेदादेव ज्ञानभेदमङ्गीकुर्वतः वासनाभेदः कथं सिध्यति ? ज्ञानभेदादिति चेत् । वासनाभेदाज्ज्ञानभेदः ज्ञानभेदाच्च वासनाभेदः इत्यन्योन्याश्रयताप्रसङ्गः । कथञ्चिदनादित्वेन तत्परिहारेऽपि कथमनयोर्वास्यवासकभावः ? युगपत् सतोर्हि कुसुमपटयोर्वास्यवासकभावो दृष्टः । भवन्मते च सर्वस्यापि क्षणिकतया यौगपद्याभावे किङ्केन वास्येत ?

एवं वासनासंक्रान्तिरपि न युज्यते । सावयवयोरेव तैलगन्धयोस्तद्दर्शनात् । वासकावयवसङ्क्रान्तिर्हि वासनासंक्रमः । स च निरन्वये विज्ञाने कथं संभवेत् ?

अपिच वास्यवासकयोस्सम्बन्धे सत्येव वासना दृष्टा । प्रकृते च तयोः कस्सम्बन्धः ? आनन्तर्यं वा, एककालिकत्वं वा ? उभयमपि न सम्भवति ; चैत्रसन्तानवि-

१. गृहीतं यदि विज्ञानम्भवेदर्थप्रकाशकम् ।  
धूमवद्दीपवद्वेति वक्तव्यं यदि धूमवत् ॥  
भवेदर्थानुमेयत्वं यत्त्वयैव च दूषितम् ।  
आकारद्वयसंवित्तिविरहाच्च न दीपवत् ॥  
घटः दीपञ्च पश्यामीत्यस्ति द्वितयवेदनम् ।  
ननु ज्ञानेन विज्ञेयज्ञानामीति द्वयग्रहः ॥

(न्यायमञ्जरी P. 542. Benares edition.)

२. न चाविप्रतिबन्धेन केवलेन ग्रहो भवेत् ।  
विशिष्टकारणाभावेऽप्यर्थो नैवानुभूयते ॥

(श्लो. वा. P. 320 Benares edition.)

न चाविबन्धमात्रेण प्रतीतिरवगम्यते ।  
उपायविरहेणापि तदा ज्ञानस्य न ग्रहः ॥

(न्यायमञ्जरी P. 543. Benares edition.)



ज्ञानानामैत्रसन्तानविज्ञानवासकत्वप्रसङ्गात्, तेषामनन्तरत्वादेककालवृत्तित्वाच्च । ननु कार्य-  
कारणत्वं सम्बन्धः, सादृश्यमेव च वासना, पूर्वञ्च विज्ञानमुत्तरविज्ञानं स्वसदृशं जनयत्तस्य  
वासकमित्युच्यते । उत्तरञ्च वास्यमिति इति चेत्, न, पूर्वक्षणस्य उत्तरक्षणे असत्त्वेन तस्य  
तज्जनकत्वाभावात् । पूर्वक्षणवृत्तित्वमेव जनकत्वमिति चेत्, यादृच्छिकपौर्वापर्यवतोर्गवाश्व-  
योरपि जन्यजनकभावप्रसङ्गात् । पौर्वापर्यनियमस्य कारणत्वनियामकत्वन्तु भूयोदर्शनं  
विना न सम्भवति । तच्च सर्वपदार्थानां क्षणिकत्वाद्भवन्मतेऽचिन्तनीयमेव । द्रष्टृदृश्यस्य  
वा स्थायिनोऽभावात् । सादृश्यं वासनेत्यपि न युक्तम् । समानधर्मान्वयो हि सादृश्यम् ।  
कथं तस्य क्षणिकेषु निरन्वयविनाशिषु सम्भव इति । अपिच सदृशात्सदृशोत्पत्तिरिति वदतां  
गोज्ञानानन्तरमश्वज्ञानन्न स्यात् । पूर्वस्य उत्तरं प्रति जनकत्वासंभवात् । विलक्षणत्वात् ।  
तन्नियमपरित्यागे च कालान्तरानुभूतगवादेः स्मरणन्न स्यात् ; ततः पूर्वं सदृशस्य गोज्ञा-  
नस्याभावेन उत्तरज्ञाने वासनाभावात् । कालान्तरे जातस्य गोज्ञानस्य च इदानीमभावात् ।  
अथ ज्ञाने नष्टेऽपि वासना न नश्यतीति पक्षः; तर्हि क्षणिकत्वसिद्धान्तहानिः । तत्परिजिहीर्षया  
वासनाधारास्वीकारे तु वासनातो वासना ज्ञानात् ज्ञानमित्येव सिध्येत् । नतु वासनातो ज्ञानं  
ज्ञानाच्च वासनेति । अतः सर्वथा वासनाज्ञानयोर्वास्यवासकभावोऽसंभवी । तस्माद्ग्राह्य-  
ग्राहकाकारमपि विज्ञानम् न वस्तु सत् । अतोऽसतैव संवृत्या सर्वव्यवहारसिद्धिरिति ॥

(To be continued)

॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

## ॥ शक्तिविमर्शः ॥

॥ वे. सुब्रह्मण्य शास्त्री ॥

॥ अण्णामलैविश्वविद्यालयः ॥

सर्वेऽपि स्वाभिमतमर्थं परान्वोधयितुं शब्दान्प्रयुज्जते । तेभ्यश्च श्रोतारः वक्तृभिमतं वाक्यार्थमवगच्छन्ति । वाक्यार्थश्च पदार्थसंसर्गः । तस्य ज्ञानं अनुमितिः, उत शाब्दबोधात्मकविलक्षणप्रमितिरित्यत्र विवदन्ते तीर्थकराः । तथाहि । वैशेषिकाः “एते पदार्थाः, मिथस्संसृष्टाः, आकांक्षादिमत्पदकदम्बोपस्थापितत्वात्” इत्यनुमितिरूपं वाक्यार्थज्ञानम् । विलक्षणप्रमाया अभावाच्च न शब्दः प्रमाणान्तरमिति वदन्ति । अनुमितिकारणानां व्याप्तिज्ञानादीनामभावेऽपि वाक्यार्थज्ञानोत्पत्त्या वाक्यार्थज्ञानं नानुमितिः । किंतु शाब्दबोधात्मकविलक्षणप्रमितिरिति तत्करणं शब्दः प्रमाणान्तरमिति नैयायिका मन्यन्ते । तथापि पदैः पदार्था उपस्थाप्यन्ते इत्यत्र न कोऽपि विवादः । पदानि शृण्वतां सर्वेषां न पदार्थोपस्थितिर्जायते । अपितु केषांचिदेव । अतश्च ज्ञायते पदपदार्थयोः कश्चन संबन्धोऽस्ति । ये तं संबन्धं जानते, तेषां हस्तिनो दर्शनेन हस्तिपालकस्य स्मरणमिव, एकसंबन्धिनः पदस्य ज्ञानेन अपरसंबन्धिनोऽर्थस्य स्मरणं जायते नेतरेषामिति । यद्यपि पदश्रवणकाले न संबन्धज्ञानं, तथापि यदाकदाचिज्जात-संबन्धज्ञानजन्यसंस्कारोद्धोषे सति पदज्ञानेन अर्थस्मरणं जायते । सच पदपदार्थ-योस्संबन्धः किंरूप इति विचार्यते ॥

अत्र नवीनत्रैयाकरणाः—

पदपदार्थयोः वाच्यवाचकभावापरपर्यायः कृत्तपदार्थातिरिक्तः संबन्धः । सैव शक्तिरित्युच्यते । नच वाच्यवाचकभावाख्यस्य अतिरिक्तसंबन्धस्य कल्पनामपेक्ष्य कृत्ता “इदं पदं एतदर्थबोधकं भवतु” इत्याकारिका ईश्वरेच्छैव शक्तिरस्त्विति वाच्यम् । तस्याः पदपदार्थसंबन्धरूपत्वासंभवात् । तथाहि—

१. प्रयोजकवृद्धो घटमानयेति ब्रूते । तच्छ्रुत्वा प्रयोज्यवृद्धो घटमानयति । तच्च पश्यन्त्युपित्सुर्बालः, कार्यताज्ञानादेव प्रवृत्तिर्भवति यथा मम, प्रयोज्यवृद्धस्यापि कार्यताज्ञानमस्ति, यतस्स घटानयने प्रवर्तते, तस्य ज्ञानं च शब्देनैव जातं, कारणान्तरानुपलंभात्, अतश्शब्द एव बोधकारणं, असंबद्धस्य कारणत्वं न संभवति, तथा च शब्दार्थयोः संबन्धं विना शब्दस्य अर्थबोधकारणत्वमनुपपन्नमिति शब्दार्थयोस्संबन्धं कल्पयति । यदि बोधकत्वेन भगवदिच्छैव संबन्धः तदा तस्य संबन्धस्य ज्ञानं न जायेत । संबन्धस्य बोधजनकत्वघटितत्वात्, तस्य चानुपपद्यमानत्वेन गृहीतत्वात् । तस्मात् बोधजनकत्वस्य अनुपपद्यमानत्वेन ज्ञानदशायां तद्धटितसंबन्धज्ञानं न संभवतीति बोधकत्वेन भगवदिच्छा न शक्तिः ।

२. अपिच, बोधकत्वप्रकारकभगवदिच्छा शक्तिः, उत बोधकत्वप्रकारकं भगवज्ज्ञानं शक्तिरित्यत्र विनिगमनाविरहः । तथा च 'विनिगमनाविरहेण सिद्धं चेदुभयमपि सिद्धमेव' इति न्यायेन भगवदिच्छाज्ञानयोरुभयोरपि शक्तित्वमङ्गीकरणीयमिति गौरवम् ।

३. किंच, अर्थबोधजनकत्वेन इच्छाविषयत्वं यदि पदस्य स्वीक्रियते, तदा दण्डस्यापि घटजनकत्वं घटजनकत्वप्रकारकभगवदिच्छाविषयत्वरूपं स्यादिति बहूपप्लवः ।

४. अपिच, चक्षुरादिप्रमाणानि संयोगादिसंबन्धेन घटादिसंबद्धानि सन्ति घटादिबोधं जनयन्ति, न बोधजनकत्वघटितसंबन्धेन संबद्धानि । एवं शब्दोऽपि प्रमाणम् । अतः बोधजनकत्वघटितसंबन्धभिन्नसंबन्धेन प्रमेयसंबद्धः प्रमेयं बोधयतीति कल्प्यते । अन्यथा वह्निधूमयोः व्याप्तिरूपस्संबन्धो मास्तु, धूमाद्वह्निज्ञानं जायतामिति भगवदिच्छाविषयत्वमेव संबन्धोऽस्त्विति व्याप्तिरुच्छिद्येत ॥

५. किंच, संबन्धो नाम संबन्धिभ्यां भिन्नः द्विनिष्ठः विशिष्टबुद्धिनियामकश्च । यथा घटभूतलयोः संबन्धः संयोगः । सच संबन्धिभ्यां घटभूतलाभ्यां भिन्नः, समवायेन घटभूतलोभयनिष्ठः, घटवद्भूतलमिति विशिष्टबुद्धिनियामकश्च । बोधकत्वेन भगवदिच्छा न पदार्थोभयवृत्तिः । इच्छाविषयः बोधः तत्र घटोऽर्थः विषयः । इच्छाविषयबोधविषयतायाश्च इच्छाश्रयतानियामकत्वं नास्ति । एवं विषय इच्छावानिति प्रमाणिकव्यवहारो नास्ति । तस्माद्भगवत्संकेतस्य संबन्धत्वं न संभवति । तथाच कृतायाः

ईश्वरेच्छायाश्शक्तित्वासंभवात् वाच्यवाचकभावाख्यसंबन्धान्तरमेव कल्प्यते । तादृश-  
शक्तिग्राहकं शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यम् । स एव संकेतः । तादात्म्यमपि शक्त्युपकारकत्वा-  
च्छक्तिरिति व्यवहियते । नच शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्ये अन्नमित्युक्ते पूरणापत्तिः पूरणहेतो-  
रर्थस्य (अन्नस्य) शब्दाभिन्नत्वेन तत्र सत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् । यतः शब्दार्थयोरत्यन्ताभेदो  
नाङ्गीक्रियते । अपितु भेदसमानाधिकरणाभेद एव । अत्यन्ताभेदाभावाच्च न पूर्वोक्तदोषः ॥

### शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्ये प्रमाणानि—

१. अयं गौरिति प्रतियन्ति । तत्र प्रत्यये अर्थः गोशब्दरूपनामधेयसामानाधि-  
करणेन भासते । आवश्यकञ्च सर्वस्मिन्नपि प्रत्यये पदभानम् ॥

(a) अतएव पुरोवर्तिपदार्थदर्शी तद्वाचकशब्दमजानानः किमिदमिति न जाना-  
मीति व्यवहरति । वाचकशब्दोपदेशे च ज्ञातमिति च व्यवहरति । ज्ञाने अर्थमात्रस्य भाने  
न जानामीति कथं ब्रूयात् ? अर्थस्य ज्ञातत्वात् । तस्माच्छब्दानुविद्ध एवार्थो भासते ॥

(b) अपिच, पिकपद एव कोकिलस्य (अर्थस्य) शक्तिं जानतः कोकिलपदे च  
तामजानतोऽपि कोकिलदर्शने, अयं कोकिल इत्यनुव्यवसायापत्तिः । ज्ञाने अर्थमात्रस्य  
भानात् अर्थस्य च तेन ज्ञातत्वात् । अतः वाचकपदमपि भासते इति वाच्यम् । कोकिल  
इत्यनुव्यवसाये कोकिलपदस्यापि भानात् तस्य चाज्ञातत्वान्न तथापत्तिः । तस्माज्ज्ञाने  
पदभानमावश्यकम् ॥

(c) अयं घट इति प्रत्यक्षे घटस्य विशेष्यता, घटत्वस्य प्रकारता, इति विषयता-  
भाननियमनिर्वाहार्थमपि पदभानमावश्यकम् । पदभाने सति “यज्ज्ञानं यत्पदविषयं तत्  
तज्जन्यबोधीयविषयतासमानविषयताकं” इति नियमात् घटविशेष्यकत्वादिनियमो निर्वहति ।  
घटादिपदानामपि घटत्वनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यत्वावच्छिन्ने शक्तिः । अतः घटपद-  
जन्यबोधे विशेष्यत्वादिकं भासते । तस्माद्धटपदविषयकप्रत्यक्षेऽपि तत्समानविषयतादिकं  
भासते । व्यवसाये विषयता भासत इत्यकामेनाप्यङ्गीकार्यम् । कथमन्यथा घटमहं जाना-  
मीत्यनुव्यवसाये विषयत्वं भासेत । व्यवसायविषयस्यैवानुव्यवसाये भानात् । व्यवसाया-  
विषयस्यापि व्यवसायविषये विद्यमानस्य अनुव्यवसाये भानोपगमे, अयं गुड इति व्यवसा-  
यानन्तरभावी अनुव्यवसायः व्यवसायविषयगुडे विद्यमानं माधुर्यमवगाहेत । विषयताया  
भानं न विषयत्वान्तरम् । अपितु स्वमेवेति नानवस्था । तस्मात्प्रत्यक्षादावपि विषयताभा-  
ननियमनिर्वाहाय पदभानमावश्यकम् ॥

(d) गौतमस्यापि शाब्दबोधे पदभानं संमतम् । “इन्द्रियार्थसंनिकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमव्यपदेश्यं अव्यभिचारि व्यवसायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षं” इति प्रत्यक्षलक्षणपरं न्यायसूत्रम् । तत्र अव्यपदेश्यमित्यस्य वाचकशब्दाविषयकमित्यर्थः । एवं च प्रत्यक्षं शब्दाविषयकं वदन् शाब्दबोधं वाचकशब्दविषयं मन्यते सूत्रकारः ॥

तस्मिन्नेव सूत्रे “शब्दविषयकत्वेन प्रत्यक्षस्य शाब्दत्वापत्तिः” इति वदतो न्यायभाष्यकारस्यापि अभिमतोऽयमर्थः । व्यवस्थिते हि शाब्दे पदभाने शब्दविषयकत्वात्प्रत्यक्षस्य शाब्दत्वमापादयितुं शक्यते । “शब्दविषयकत्वमेव शाब्दत्वं नतु शब्दजन्यत्वम्” इति तत्रैव वाचस्पतिमिश्रैरुक्तम् । तथाच नैयायिकैः शाब्दे पदभानाङ्गीकारात् अन्यत्र प्रत्यक्षादौ तेषां तदभानाग्रहो मुधैव ॥

तस्मात् अयं गौरितिप्रत्यये गोपदं भासते इति सिद्धम् । यत् यत्सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीयते, तत् तदात्मकम् यत् यदात्मकं न भवति तत् न तत्सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीयते । यथा गौः न अश्वात्मकः “गौरश्वः” इत्यश्वसामानाधिकरण्येन न प्रतीयते च । अर्थस्तु वाचकशब्दसामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीयत इति शब्दात्मकः । नच गवि अश्वसामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीयभावः तयोरुपायोपेयभावाभावात् न तादात्म्याभावात्, शब्दार्थयोस्तु उपायोपेयभावसत्त्वात्सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीतिः इति वाच्यम् । उपायोपेयभावसत्त्वेऽपि रूपचक्षुषोः वह्निधूमयोश्च सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीतेरदर्शनात् उपायोपेयभावस्य सामानाधिकरण्येन बुद्धिनियामकत्वाभावात् । किंच, उपायोपेयभावस्य सामानाधिकरण्येन बुद्धिप्रयोजकत्वे शाब्द एव प्रत्यये तयोस्सामानाधिकरण्यं भासेत, नत्वनुमित्यादौ । तत्र अर्थस्य शब्दोपेयत्वाभावात् । साधितं च सर्वत्र ज्ञाने पदभानम् । तस्मात् अत्यन्तभिन्नयोर्घटपटयोः सामानाधिकरण्येनाप्रतीतेः, अत्यन्ताभेदेऽपि घटो घट इति सामानाधिकरण्येन बुद्धेरदर्शनात्, नीलघटयोः नीलो घट इति सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीतेः तादात्म्यमिव, शब्दार्थयोः सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रतीतेः तयोर्भेदसामानाधिकरणाभेदरूपं तादात्म्यं सिद्धयति ।

२. अतदुपायकः अतद्विषयकश्च न तत्पुरस्सरः दृष्टः । सर्वोऽपि सविकल्पकप्रत्ययः शब्दपुरस्सरः । अतश्च सविकल्पकप्रत्ययः शब्दविषयकः, शब्दोपायको वा वाच्यः । आद्ये अर्थज्ञानस्य शब्दज्ञानात्मकत्वे सिद्धं शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यम् । द्वितीये किं शब्दः अज्ञातस्सन्नुपायः, उत ज्ञातः । नाद्यः, निर्विकल्पकस्यैवासिद्धिप्रसङ्गात् । विशिष्टबुद्धौ विशेषणज्ञानस्य उपायत्व एव निर्विकल्पकं सिद्धयति । अज्ञातस्याप्युपायत्वे अज्ञातस्यापि घटत्वस्य

अयं घट इति विशिष्टबुद्धिजनकत्वसंभवात्, घटत्वज्ञानानपेक्षणेन निर्विकल्पकाङ्गीकारस्य व्यर्थत्वात् ॥ द्वितीयपक्षे च सिद्धं नः समीहितम् । असन्निहितस्य न ज्ञानं संभवति । शब्दश्च न सन्निहितः । अतः अर्थतादात्म्यादर्थसन्निधानमेव शब्दसन्निधानमिति सन्निहितस्य शब्दस्य ज्ञानं भवेत् । तथा च सिद्धं शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यम् ॥

३. कश्शब्द इति प्रश्नेऽपि घटइत्ययं शब्द इत्युत्तरयन्ति । कोऽर्थ इति प्रश्नेपि घटइत्ययमर्थ इत्युत्तरयन्ति । तथाच शब्दार्थप्रश्नयोः एकाकारोत्तरदर्शनात् तन्मूलतादात्म्यप्रतीतिः, तथा च शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यं सिद्धयति ॥

४. अपिच, पदं श्रुतं पदार्थं शृणु इति व्यवहरन्ति । अत्र च पदार्थपदं न शब्दपरम् । पदं श्रुतमिति पृथगभिधानात् । अपि तु अर्थपरमेव । अर्थस्य च श्रावणप्रत्यक्षकर्मत्वं (विषयत्वं) न संभवति । अपितु शब्दस्यैव । तस्माच्छब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यमभिसन्धायैव अर्थं शृणु इति व्यवहरन्ति इति निरुक्तप्रयोगमूलप्रतीत्यापि शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यसिद्धिः ॥

५. किंच, वाच्यं (अर्थ) आदैचं, वाचकं वृद्धिशब्दञ्च सामानाधिकरण्येन “वृद्धिरादैच्” इति प्रयुज्जानस्सूत्रकारोऽपि वाच्यवाचकयोस्तादात्म्यमभिप्रेति । “ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म” इति श्रुतिरपि वाच्यवाचकयोश्शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यं द्रढयति । प्रणववाच्यं ब्रह्म । प्रणवो वाचकः । तयोश्च सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रयोगात् तयोस्तादात्म्यं सिद्धयति ।

६. एवं, पिनाकिनो मानभञ्जकः रामः (अर्थः) नतु तद्वाचकश्शब्दः । रामेति नाम्नि मानभञ्जकत्वं प्रतिपादयन्नयं “रामेति द्व्यक्षरं नाम मानभङ्गः पिनाकिनः” इति प्रयोगः शब्दार्थयोरभेदाध्यवसायमूलक इति तेन तादात्म्यं सिद्धयति ।

७. अतएव “हिरण्यपूर्वं कशिपुं प्रचक्षते” इति प्रयोगोऽपि संगच्छते । अत्र पुरुषविशेषं हिरण्यपूर्वं कशिपुं प्रचक्षते इत्युक्तम् । हिरण्यपूर्वत्वं कशिपुपदस्यैव । तथाच अर्थस्य हिरण्यपूर्वकशिपुशब्दस्य च सामानाधिकरण्येन प्रयोगः तयोस्तादात्म्यं द्रढयति ॥

वस्तुतस्तु बौद्धयोरेव शब्दार्थयोर्वाच्यवाचकभावः । तादृशयोरेव शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यम् । नातः अन्नमित्युक्ते पूरणापत्तिः । बाह्यस्यैवान्नस्य पूरकत्वात् । आवश्यकश्च बौद्धार्थस्य वाच्यत्वस्वीकारः ।

१. कथमन्यथा घटोऽस्ति, घटो नास्ति इति प्रयोग उपपद्यते । यदि घटशब्दस्य बाह्यसत्ताविशिष्टो घटो वाच्यः, तदा घटशब्देनैव घटे बाह्यसत्ताया बोधनात् 'उक्तार्थानामप्रयोगः' इति न्यायेन अस्तीति प्रयोगानापत्तिः । एवं घटशब्देन घटे बाह्यसत्ताया बोधितत्वात् तद्विरुद्धः बाह्यसत्ताभावः तत्रानुपपन्न इति तत्र सत्ताभावबोधकः नास्तीति प्रयोगोऽप्यनुपपन्नः स्यात् । बुद्धिसत्ताविशिष्टघटो यदि वाच्यः, तदा घटशब्देनाबोधितबाह्यसत्ताया बोधनाय अस्तिपदप्रयोग उपपद्यते । घटशब्दबोधबौद्धघटे अबाधितं बाह्यसत्ताभावं बोधयितुं नास्तीति प्रयोगोऽपि नानुपपन्नः । तस्माद्बौद्धार्थ एव वाच्यः ॥

२. अपिच, यदि बौद्धार्थो न स्वीक्रियते तदा शशशृङ्गं नास्तीति वाक्याच्छाब्दबोधो न स्यात् । बाह्यस्य शशशृङ्गस्याभावात् । एवं अङ्कुरो जायते इति वाक्यादपि बोधो न स्यात् । योऽङ्कुरः उत्पत्त्याश्रयः स एव तत्र शाब्दबोधे भासते इति वाच्यम् । ज्ञानसामान्ये विषयस्य कारणत्वात् विद्यमानस्यैव शाब्दबोधो भवति । नच शाब्दबोधकाले उत्पद्यमानः बाह्यः अङ्कुरोऽस्ति । बौद्धार्थाङ्गीकारे तु शशशृङ्गपदबोधे बौद्धे शशशृङ्गे बाह्यसत्ताभावः शशशृङ्गं नास्तीति वाक्येन बोध्यते । एवं तत्काले बुद्धिसिद्धाङ्कुरे उत्पत्तिः अङ्कुरो जायते इति वाक्येन बोध्यत इति न कोऽपि दोषः ।

३. किञ्च, समानाधिकरणयोरेव कार्यकारणभावः । ज्ञानसामान्यं च विषयः कारणम् । ज्ञानं मनोधर्मः । यदि बौद्धार्थो नास्ति तदा बहिरवस्थितो विषयः स्वानधिकरणे मनसि कथं ज्ञानं जनयेत् । बौद्धार्थाङ्गीकारे तु बौद्धो विषयः मनोनिष्ठ इति स्वाधिकरणे मनसि ज्ञानं जनयेदेव इत्युपपद्यते कार्यकारणभावः । न च विषयः तादात्म्येन स्वस्मिन्संबद्धः विषयतासंबन्धेन ज्ञानं जनयति । विषयतासंबन्धेन ज्ञानसामान्यं प्रति तादात्म्यसंबन्धेन विषयस्य कारणत्वात् । तथाच बाह्यविषयज्ञानयोरेव सामानाधिकरण्यसंभवान्न बौद्धार्थ आवश्यक इति वाच्यम् । कारणस्य कार्याधिकरणवृत्तित्वमपेक्षितम् । वृत्तित्वञ्च कारणतावच्छेदकसंबन्धेन । निरुक्तकार्यकारणभावे च कारणतावच्छेदकसंबन्धः तादात्म्यम् । तच्च न वृत्तिनियामकम् । तादात्म्येन घटो घटे वर्तते इति प्रतीतिव्यवहारयोरेभावात् । तथाच तेन संबन्धेन विषयस्य ज्ञानाधिकरणस्ववृत्तित्वं नास्तीति न विषयनिष्ठप्रत्यासत्त्या कार्यकारणभावः संभवति । एवं, अतीतान्विषयान्स्मरामः भवद्विस्तत्र अतीतो विषयः स्वस्मिन्तादात्म्येन संबद्धः स्वस्मिन्नेव विषयतासंबन्धेन स्मरणं जनयतीति वाच्यम् । तच्च न संभवति । विद्यमानयोरेव घटभूतल्लयोऽसंयोगसंबन्धः । न विद्यमानाविद्यमानयोः ।

स्मरणकाले च नातीतो बाह्यो वर्तते । ततश्च स्मरणस्य विषयतासंबन्धेन अतीतविषय-  
निष्ठत्वं न संभवतीत्यतोऽपि निरुक्तकार्यकारणभावो न संभवति । बौद्धार्थस्वीकारे तु  
बाह्यस्यातीतत्वेऽपि बौद्धस्य विद्यमानत्वासंबन्ध उपपद्यते । तस्माद्बौद्धार्थाङ्गीकार  
आवश्यकः ॥

५. अपिच, “ उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक ” इति सूत्रे भाष्ये को देवदत्त इति प्रश्ने  
“ अङ्गदी कुण्डली व्यूढोरस्को वृत्तबाहुरीदृशो देवदत्तः ” इत्युक्तम् । तत्र ईदृशपदं  
एतत्सदृशार्थकम् । यदि बाह्य एवार्थः, तदा देवदत्तव्यक्तेरेकत्वात् भेदघटितसादृश्यस्या-  
संभवात् ईदृशो देवदत्त इति वाक्यमपार्थक्यं स्यात् । बौद्धार्थस्वीकारे तु एतैः शब्दैर्या-  
दृशोऽर्थः बुद्धौ प्रतिभासते तादृशो बाह्यदेवदत्त इत्यर्थकं पूर्वोक्तवाक्यं, बौद्धबाह्यदेव-  
दत्तव्यक्त्योर्भेदघटितसादृश्यस्य संभवादिति न दोषः ॥

५. नलरावणादिपदाच्छाब्दबोधनिर्वाहायापि बौद्धार्थ आवश्यकः । घटादि-  
संस्थानानीव अतीतनलरावणादिसंस्थानानि नास्माभिः प्रत्यक्षीकृतानि । अतश्च घटपदस्य  
घटत्वविशिष्ट इव नलादिपदानां नलत्वादिजातिविशिष्टे शक्तिग्रहो न संभवति । फलबलात्  
अनादीन्नलादिविषयकसंस्कारान्कल्पयित्वा तादृशसंस्कारेणोपस्थिते शक्तिग्रहात् नलादि-  
पदात् विशिष्य नलत्वप्रकारको बोधः इत्यपि न शक्यते वक्तुम् । तथा सति अप्रसिद्धार्थक-  
नलादिपदश्रवणे क एतदर्थ इति प्रश्नः, उपमानादिना तत्प्रतिवचनञ्च नोपपद्येत ।  
निरुक्तप्रकारेण नलपदात् नलत्वप्रकारकबोधस्य जातत्वात् । तस्मात् तदीयगुणसमृद्ध्यादि-  
श्रवणोत्तरं सामान्यतः बुद्ध्या गृहीताकारे शक्तिग्रहः । बौद्ध एवार्थः शाब्दबोधे भासते  
इति बौद्धार्थ आवश्यकः ॥

६. किञ्च, “ स भूरिति व्याहरत्स भूमिमसृजत ” इति श्रुत्या सृष्टेः प्राक्  
हिरण्यगर्भः भूशब्दादिभ्यः तदर्थं ज्ञात्वा भूरादीन्लोकान्ससर्जेति गम्यते । यदि बाह्य  
एवार्थः, तदा बाह्याया भुवस्तदानीमभावेन भूशब्दस्य शक्तिग्रहासंभवात् तच्छब्दाद्भुवः  
शाब्दबोधो न स्यात् । बौद्धार्थाङ्गीकारे तु, सर्वज्ञत्वात् भगवदनुग्रहाच्च वेदलाभवत्  
तदैव स्वबुद्धिपरिवर्तिपदार्थस्य स्थूलरूपेण भानं, तत्र संबन्धग्रहः, बोधश्च हिरण्यगर्भस्य  
भवतीत्युपपद्यते । तस्मादपि बौद्धार्थ आवश्यकः ॥

७. असत्कार्यवादनिरूपणावसरे “ बुद्धिसिद्धन्तु तदसत् ” इति सूत्रकर्तुर्गौतम-  
स्यापि संमतो बौद्धार्थः । कर्तृत्वं कारणत्वव्याप्यम् । तत्त्वञ्च कार्यनियतपूर्ववृत्तित्वम् ।



उत्पत्तेः प्रागसच्च कार्यं कथमुत्पत्तिकर्तृ भवेत् । तत्त्वाभावे च घटो जायते इति प्रयोगः कथमुपपद्यते इत्याशङ्कापरिहाराय तत्सूत्रं प्रवृत्तम् । तत्=कार्यम् उत्पत्तेः प्राक् नाशोत्तर-ञ्चासदपि बुद्धिविषयतया सिद्धं इति सूत्रार्थः । बौद्धस्य घटस्य पूर्ववृत्तित्वात्कर्तृत्वमुपपद्यते इति परिहाराशयः । तस्मात् बौद्धार्थो गौतमस्यापि सम्मतः ॥ तथाच बौद्ध एवार्थो वाच्यः । बौद्ध एव शब्दो वाचकः । तयोरेव तादात्म्यमिति न अन्नमित्युक्ते पूरणापत्तिः । तादात्म्योपकृतश्च वाच्यवाचकभावः शक्तिः । तस्य संबन्धस्य अर्थः अनुयोगी । पदं प्रतियोगि । एवञ्च तादृशसंबन्धप्रतियोगित्वं शक्तत्वं वाचकत्वम् । संबन्धानुयोगित्वं शक्यत्वम् । अनुयोगितावच्छेदकं च शक्यतावच्छेदकम् । शक्तिभेदश्च शक्यतावच्छेदकताभेदादेव । नतु शक्यतावच्छेदकभेदात् । तथासति पुष्पवन्तपदस्यापि चन्द्रत्व-सूर्यत्वरूपशक्यतावच्छेदकभेदेन नानाशक्तिमत्त्वावृत्तेः । न चेष्टापत्तिः ।

“ एकयोक्त्या पुष्पवन्तौ दिवाकरनिशाकरौ ” इति कोशेन तस्य एकशक्तिमत्त्वप्रतिपादनात् । दिवाकरनिशाकरौ एकयोक्त्या=एकशक्त्या, पुष्पवन्तौ=पुष्पवन्तपदप्रतिपाद्यौ इति कोशार्थः । घटपटौ न स्त इति प्रतीतौ द्वित्वधर्मितावच्छेदकतया घटत्वं पटत्वं च भासते । घटत्वपटत्वयोः प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतापर्याप्तिमवगाहमानया पूर्वाक्तिप्रतीत्या तयोरेका प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता सिद्ध्यति । तथा द्वित्वधर्मितावच्छेदकतापन्नचन्द्रत्व-सूर्यत्वयोः शक्यतावच्छेदकतापर्याप्तिमवगाहमानप्रतीत्या तयोरेका शक्यतावच्छेदकता सिद्ध्यति । ततश्च शक्यतावच्छेदकताभेदाभावान्न शक्तिभेदः । हर्यादिपदाच्च विष्णुत्वादि-प्रत्येकधर्मावच्छिन्नस्यापि बोधोदयेन तत्पदशक्यतावच्छेदकता शक्यतावच्छेदकभेदेन भिन्नेति तत्पदस्य नानाशक्तिमत्त्वम् ।

घटपदं घटत्वविशिष्टवाचकं इति ज्ञानं स्वरूपतो घटत्वप्रकारकशाब्दबोधे कारणम् । शक्तिज्ञानं पदविशेषणतापन्नवाचकत्वांशे स्वरूपतः घटत्वमवगाहते । अयं घट इति प्रतीतौ घटत्वस्य जातेः समवायेन स्वरूपतो भानवत् घटं जानामीत्यनुव्यवसाये प्रकारित्वांशे निरूपितत्वसंबन्धेनापि स्वरूपतो भानात् । तथाच वाचकत्वांशे निरूपितत्वसंबन्धेन स्वरूपतो घटत्वप्रकारकमेव ज्ञानमपेक्ष्यत इति न घटत्वप्रकारकशाब्दबोधात्पूर्वं घटत्वत्वोपस्थितिरपेक्ष्यते ।

तस्मात् नैयायिकाभिमतसंकेतस्य शक्तित्वासंभवात्, शब्दार्थतादात्म्यरूपसंकेतोपकृतवाच्यवाचकभावाख्यसंबन्धान्तरमेव शक्तिः इति वदन्ति ॥

## तन्न समञ्जसम् ।

शब्दार्थयोर्वाच्यवाचकभावाख्यसंबन्धान्तरे प्रमाणाभावात् । पारिभाषिकशब्दानां अङ्गुल्याद्यभिनयानाञ्च अर्थेन सह अतिरिक्तसंगतिसिद्धिप्रसङ्गाच्च । कृतस्येश्वरसंकेतस्यैव संगतित्वोपपत्तेश्च ।

१. यदुक्तं बोधकारणत्वमनुपपन्नमिति ज्ञानदशायां तद्वदितसंबन्धज्ञानं न संभवतीति ।

तन्न । देवदत्तः पुरोवर्तिनं रजतं जानाति । तस्य ज्ञानं भ्रमः । रजतत्व-  
शून्ये पुरोवर्तिनि रजतत्वप्रकारकत्वात् । यज्ञदत्तस्त्वभ्रान्तः पुरोवर्तिनो रजतत्वमनुपपन्नमिति  
जानन्नपि “पुरोवर्ती रजतत्वप्रकारकदेवदत्तज्ञानविषयः” इति प्रत्येति । पुरोवर्तिनो  
रजतत्वमनुपपन्नमिति ज्ञानं पुरोवर्तिनि रजतत्वप्रकारकमेव ज्ञानं प्रतिबध्नाति । पूर्वोक्तं  
ज्ञानं न पुरोवर्तिनि रजतत्वावगाहि । अपितु तत्प्रकारकान्यदीयज्ञानविषयत्वावगाहीति  
न अनुपपद्यमानत्वज्ञानेन प्रतिबध्यते । अत एव भ्रान्तिज्ञानस्य तच्छून्ये तत्प्रकारक-  
त्वरूपं भ्रमत्वं नास्ति । अभिहितञ्चेदं सर्वज्ञस्येश्वरस्य सविषयभ्रमज्ञातृत्वेन प्रसक्तं  
भ्रान्तत्वं परिहरद्विराचार्यैः न्यायकुमुदाञ्जलौ, प्रकाशे च वर्धमानोपाध्यायैः ।  
शब्दे चार्थस्य बोधजनकत्वप्रकारकभगवदिच्छाविषयत्वं संबन्धः । शब्दस्य बोधकारण-  
त्वमनुपपन्नमिति ज्ञानं शब्दविशेष्यकबोधकारणत्वप्रकारकज्ञानमेव प्रतिबध्नाति । नतु  
शब्दे बोधकारणत्वप्रकारकभगवदिच्छाविषयत्वप्रकारकमपि ज्ञानम् । तस्माद्बोधकारण-  
त्वस्यानुपपद्यमानत्वज्ञानदशायामपि नैयायिकाभिमतसंबन्धज्ञानं संभवत्येवेति न दोषः ॥

न्या. कु. ४ स्तबके २८ पृष्ठे.

“विभ्रमस्याप्रामाण्येऽपि तद्विषयस्य तत्त्वमुल्लिखतः अभ्रान्तत्वात् । अन्यथा भ्रान्तिसमुच्छेद-  
प्रसङ्गः प्रमाणाभावात् । तथापि आरोपितार्थावच्छिन्नज्ञानालम्बनत्वेन कथं न भ्रान्तत्वमिति  
चेत्, न । यद्यत्र नास्ति तस्य तत्त्वावगतिरिति भ्रान्त्यर्थत्वात् । एतदालम्बनस्य च एवमुल्लिखतः  
सर्वत्र यथार्थत्वात् । न हि न तद्वजतम्, नापि तत्त्वात्, नापि तत्त्वावगतम् ॥”

तस्मिन्नेव पृष्ठे प्रकाशे—“शुक्तौ रजतत्वप्रकारकज्ञानवानिति ज्ञानं न भ्रमः । शुक्ताविदं  
रजतमिति ज्ञाने रजतत्वं प्रकारः । तेन तद्भ्रमः । ईश्वरज्ञाने तु रजतत्वप्रकारकत्वं प्रकार इति न  
भ्रमत्वं । अत एवास्मदादिरपि भ्रान्तिज्ञो न भ्रान्त इति ॥”

२. यदुक्तं विनिगमनाविरहेण भगवदिच्छाज्ञानयोरुभयोः शक्तित्वकल्पने गौरवमिति ।

तत्र । शक्तिज्ञानस्य पृथक् कारणत्वाकल्पनात्मकलाघवरूपविनिगमकसद्भावेन भगवत्संकेतस्यैव शक्तित्वात् । तथाहि—नद्यादिपारिभाषिकपदेभ्यश्शाब्दबोधो जायते । तत्र परिभाषाज्ञानं कारणम् । परिभाषा च आधुनिकसंकेतः । ईश्वरसंकेतः शक्तिरिति मतेऽपि ईश्वरसंकेतत्वेन तज्ज्ञानं न कारणम् । ईश्वरानङ्गीकर्तृणां मीमांसकादीनामपि शाब्दबोधस्य जायमानत्वात् । अपितु संकेतत्वेन तज्ज्ञानं कारणम् । एवञ्च शक्तिज्ञाननिष्ठ-कारणता परिभाषाज्ञानसाधारणी । परिभाषाज्ञानस्य कारणत्वं सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नमिति शक्तिज्ञानस्य अतिरिक्तकार्यकारणभावो न कल्प्यत इति लाघवम् । ईश्वरज्ञानस्य शक्तित्वे तु शक्तिज्ञानस्य अतिरिक्तकारणत्वं कल्पनीयमिति गौरवम् । नच आधुनिकसंकेतस्यैव आधुनिकज्ञानस्यापि परिभाषात्वाङ्गीकारात् ईश्वरज्ञानरूपशक्तिविषयकज्ञानस्यापि परिभाषा-ज्ञानव्यावृत्तकारणत्वान्तरं न कल्पनीयमिति न गौरवमिति वाच्यम् । यतः आधुनिकज्ञानं न परिभाषा । तथाहि । ‘नदीशब्दः पाणिनिनैव ईदृदन्तस्त्रीलिङ्गशब्दे परिभाषितः नास्मदादिभिः’ इति प्रामाणिको व्यवहारः । यदि आधुनिकबोधकत्वज्ञानं परिभाषा तदा अस्मदादीनामपि नदीशब्दः ईदृदन्तस्त्रीलिङ्गशब्दबोधक इति ज्ञानसंभवात् ‘नदीशब्दः निरुक्तार्थविशेषे अस्मदादिभिः परिभाषितः, इति प्रामाणिकव्यवहारः स्यात् । न च तथा व्यवहारः । एवं वाचकानां घटादिशब्दानामपि पारिभाषिकत्वापत्तिः । अस्मदादीनां घटशब्दो घटबोधक इति ज्ञानसंभवात् । तस्मादाधुनिकसंकेत एव परिभाषा । ईश्वरज्ञानस्य शक्तित्वे तज्ज्ञानस्य परिभाषाज्ञानव्यावृत्ता अतिरिक्तकारणता कल्पनीयेति गौरवमेव । तथाच निरुक्तप्रकारेण विनिगमकसद्भावेन भगवत्संकेतस्यैव शक्तित्वमिति न गौरवाव-काशः ॥

(३) यदप्युक्तम् इदमस्माद्भवत्वितिच्छाविषयत्वमेव जनकत्वं स्यादिति बहूपप्लव इति ।

तदपि न । पदस्य अर्थबोधजनकत्वं बोधकत्वेनेच्छाविषयत्वमिति वादिनस्संभवत्ययमनन्तरोक्तो दोषः । नहि नैयायिकास्तथा मन्यन्ते । अपितु पदे अर्थबोधजनकत्वं वर्तते । तन्निर्वाहकसंबन्धः तत्त्वेन भगवदिच्छाविषयत्वमिति ।

अथ पदस्य अर्थबोधजनकत्वनिर्वाहकसंबन्धो यदि तत्त्वेनेच्छाविषयत्वं तदा घटजनकत्वेन इच्छाविषयत्वमेव कपालस्य घटजनकत्वनिर्वाहकसंबन्धः स्यादिति दूषणा-  
शयः कल्प्यते इति चेन्न । कपाले घटस्य समवायः संबन्धः प्रत्यक्षसिद्ध इति तस्यैव  
जनकतानिर्वाहकत्वम् । न तु जनकत्वप्रकारकेच्छाविषयत्वस्य तादृशसंबन्धत्वं कल्प्यं  
गौरवात् । शब्दे चार्थस्य न समवायादिसंबन्धः सिद्धः । अग्निरित्युक्ते वाचि दाहाभावात् ।  
अतः जनकतानिर्वाहकसंबन्धः तत्त्वेनेच्छाविषयत्वमिति न कोऽपि दोषः ॥

(४) यदपि शब्दोऽपि प्रमाणं चक्षुरादिवत् बोधजनकत्वघटितसंबन्धभिन्नसंबन्धेन  
प्रमेयसंबद्धस्सन्नर्थबोधकः । अन्यथा वह्निधूमयोरपि धूमाद्वह्निज्ञानं जायतामितीच्छाविषयत्वमेव  
संबन्धोऽस्त्विति व्याप्त्युच्छेद इति ।

तदपि न । ‘शब्दः, बोधकत्वघटितसंबन्धभिन्नसंबन्धेन प्रमेयसंबद्धस्सन्नर्थबोधजनकः,  
प्रमाणत्वात्’ इति प्रयोगे प्रमाणत्वहेतुरप्रयोजकः । प्रमाणत्वमस्तु निरुक्तसाध्यं मास्त्विति  
शङ्कावारकतर्काभावात् । किञ्च, अनुमानोपमानशब्दाः, परामर्श-अतिदेशवाक्यार्थ-  
स्मरण-पदार्थस्मरण-रूपज्ञानद्वारैव प्रमितिजनका इति प्रत्यक्षमपि (चक्षुरादि) ज्ञानद्वारैव  
प्रमितिजनकं भवेत् । नतु संयोगादिद्वारा । तथान्न ‘प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणम्, ज्ञानद्वारा  
प्रमितिजनकं, प्रमाणत्वात्, अनुमानादिवत्’ इत्याभाससाम्यम् ।

किञ्च वह्निधूमयोर्व्याप्त्युच्छेद इत्यत्र कोऽसौ व्याप्त्युच्छेदः । न तावत्सा-  
हचर्यनियमस्योच्छेदः । तस्य सर्वानुभवसिद्धत्वेन तदभावस्यापादयितुमशक्यत्वात् ।  
नापि व्याप्तिज्ञानस्य अनुमितिहेतुत्वोच्छेदः । तस्मिन्सत्यनुमितिः तदभावे च  
नेति अन्वयव्यतिरेकसहचारयोः कारणताग्राहकयोः सत्त्वेन हेतुत्वाभावस्याप्यापादयितुम-  
शक्यत्वात् ।

यच्चोक्तम् तयोः धूमाद्वह्निज्ञानं जायतामितीच्छाविषयत्वमेव संबन्धोऽस्त्विति ।  
तदपि न । ईश्वरेच्छा सन्मात्रविषयिणी (वस्तुत्वव्यापकविषयताका) । धूमाच्च वह्निज्ञानं  
जायते । तस्माद्धूमाद्वह्निज्ञानं जायतामित्याकारिकापि सा । परन्तु तादृशेच्छाविषयत्वस्य  
वह्निधूमयोः संबन्धत्वकल्पने न प्रमाणमस्ति । इहतु शब्दार्थयोः संयोगसमवायसामाना-  
धिकरण्यादयः संबन्धा न संभवन्ति । शाब्दबोधकादाचित्कत्वान्यथानुपपत्त्या च कश्चन  
संबन्धो वाच्यः । अतिरिक्तसंबन्धरूपधर्मिकल्पनापेक्षया कृतस्थेश्वरसंकेतस्य संबन्धत्व-

कल्पने लाघवम् । तथाच निरुक्तालाघवज्ञानसहकृतशाब्दबोधकादाचित्कत्वान्यथानुपपत्तिरेव संकेतस्य संबन्धत्वे प्रमाणम् ॥

(५) यच्चोक्तम् द्विनिष्ठत्वादिसंबन्धलक्षणायोगान्न संकेतस्संबन्ध इति ।

तदपि न । नीलो घट इति विशिष्टबुद्ध्या अभेदः संसर्गस्सिद्धः । न चाभेदो द्विनिष्ठः । नच द्विनिष्ठत्वाभावादेव न तस्य संबन्धत्वमिति वाच्यम् । भवद्विरभेदस्य संबन्धत्वं निराकृत्य तत्स्थाने संबन्धान्तरानवच्छिन्नविशेषणविशेष्यभावः स्वीकृतः । तस्य च संबन्धिभेदाभावान्न द्विनिष्ठत्वं । अपिच आधाराधेयभावादयः संबन्धा न द्विनिष्ठाः । आधाराधेयभावो नाम, आधारता, आधेयता, उभयं वा स्यात् । सर्वथापि न द्विनिष्ठः । आधारताया आधारमात्रवृत्तित्वात् आधेयतायाश्च आधेयमात्रवृत्तित्वात् । यदि चाधारता स्वरूपसंबन्धेनाधारे निरूपकतासंबन्धेन चाधेये वर्तत इति द्विनिष्ठेत्युच्यते । तदा संकेतोऽपि द्विनिष्ठः । ‘घटशब्दः घटबोधको भवतु’ इति इच्छायां शब्दो विशेष्यः । तत्र जनकत्वं तत्रच बोधः तत्रच विषयितासंबन्धेन घटः प्रकारः । नतु इच्छाविषयबोध एव घटो विषयः । एवञ्च इच्छा विशेष्यतासंबन्धेन शब्दे प्रकारताविशेषसंबन्धेनच घटे (अर्थे) वर्तते । विषयतासंबन्धस्य वृत्त्यनियामकत्वान्न तेन संबन्धेन संबन्धिनिष्ठत्वं संकेतस्येति चेत् । किं निरूपकतासंबन्धो वृत्तिनियामकः । येन, तेन आधेयसंबन्धिनः आधारत्वस्य द्विनिष्ठत्वं भवेत् । तस्मात् संबन्धस्य द्विनिष्ठत्वं नापेक्षितम् । अपितु द्विसंबन्धित्वमेव । तच्च सर्वत्र नापेक्षितम् । अभेदसंबन्धस्वीकारादित्यप्युक्तम् ।

एवं संबन्धत्वं न विशिष्टबुद्धिनियामकत्वम् । नियामकत्वस्य जनकत्वरूपत्वे अतीन्द्रियपरमाण्वोऽसंयोगे अव्याप्तिः । विशिष्टबुद्धेः प्रत्यक्षत्वे संयोगस्य विषयविधया तज्जनकत्वं भवेत् । अतीन्द्रियपरमाण्वोर्विशिष्टबुद्धिस्तु अनुमित्यादिरूपेति तद्विषयसंयोगे तज्जनकत्वं नास्तीत्यव्याप्तिः । नियामकत्वं यदि विषयत्वं तदा वस्तुमात्रे अतिव्याप्तिः । नच प्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यताभिन्नविषयतावत्त्वं संबन्धत्वमिति न वस्तुमात्रेऽतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । संयोगेन द्रव्यत्वप्रकारकभ्रमीय-द्रव्यत्वनिष्ठप्रकारतानिरूपित-विशेष्यताभिन्नविषयतावत्त्वं संयोगे वर्तत इति संयोगो द्रव्यत्वस्य संबन्ध इति व्यवहारापत्तेः । अथ तद्वारणाय प्रमात्मकज्ञाननिरूपितनिरुक्तविषयतावत्त्वं संबन्धत्वमित्युच्यत इति चेत् । तदान्योन्याश्रयः । तेन संबन्धेन तद्विद्विशेष्यकत्वे सति तेन संबन्धेन तत्प्रकारकत्व-

रूपप्रमात्वस्य संबन्धघटितत्वात् । निरुक्तस्यच संबन्धत्वस्य प्रमात्वघटितत्वात् । तस्मात्तस्य संबन्धत्वं तत्प्रतियोगिकत्वविशेषः । तस्मिन्संबन्धत्वञ्च तदनुयोगिकत्व-विशेषः । स्पष्टञ्चेदमभिहितम् “दर्शितञ्च नियमाघटितं संबन्धत्वम्” इति दीधितिव्याख्यानावसरे भट्टाचार्यैः । नच निष्प्रतियोगिकस्य संकेतस्य कथं पदप्रतियोगिकत्वरूपपदसंबन्धत्वमिति वाच्यम् । अर्थे पदस्य स्वजन्यज्ञानविषयत्वप्रकारकभगवदिच्छाविषयत्वं संबन्धः । तत्रच स्वत्वं परिचायकम् । न संबन्धकोटिप्रविष्टम् । जन्यत्वञ्च पदप्रतियोगिकमिति जन्यत्वघटितस्य तस्य पदसंबन्धत्वम् । संयोगस्य इन्द्रियप्रतियोगिकत्वेन तद्वटितस्य संयुक्तविशेष्यकज्ञानप्रकारीभूतधूमत्वस्य इन्द्रियसंबन्धत्वमिव । यदिच भवदुक्तलक्षणे आग्रहः, तदा भवतामेव पित्रादिसंकेतितगोविन्दैदिपदानां लक्षणाकथनावसरे आरोपमूलसंबन्धः स्वशक्तसंकेतविषयत्वमित्युक्तिः कथं संगच्छेत ? तस्य द्विनिष्ठत्वाभावात्, विशिष्टबुद्धिनियामकत्वाभावाच्च । तस्मात्पूर्वोक्तीरित्या भगवत्संकेतस्य संबन्धत्वं संभवत्येवेति न कोऽपि दोषः ॥

यदप्युक्तम् संगतिग्राहकं शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यमिति । तदपि तयोस्तादात्म्यस्यैवाभावादसमञ्जसम् ॥

(१) यच्च अयं गौरिति शब्दसामानाधिकरण्येन अर्थप्रतीतेः तादात्म्यं सिद्धयतीति ।

तदपि न । किं शब्दब्रह्मतादात्म्यमर्थानामभिमतम्, उत श्रूयमाणशब्दतादात्म्यम् । नाद्यः । वैयाकरणस्यापि शब्दब्रह्मदर्शनाभावेन लौकिकानां शब्दब्रह्मज्ञानस्य तत्तादात्म्येनार्थप्रतीतेश्च सुतरामसंभवात् तत्तादात्म्यस्यासिद्धेः । वस्तुतस्तु शब्दब्रह्मण एव वाजिविषाणायमानत्वात् तत्तादात्म्यमर्थानां सुतरामसंभवि । न द्वितीयः । अस्यार्थस्य अयं शब्दो वाचक इति शब्दार्थसंबन्धमगृहीतवताम् बालमूकादीनामपि अर्थज्ञानं जायते । मूकादिभिश्च शब्दगन्धोऽप्यनाग्रात इति कथं तेषामर्थज्ञानं श्रूयमाणशब्दसामानाधिकरण्यमवगाहेत । कथं वा तत्तादात्म्यमर्थानां सिद्धयेत् । नच तेषामपि प्राग्भवोयशब्दभावना वर्तते । तदुक्तम् “आद्यः करणविन्यासः प्राणस्योर्ध्वं समीरणम् । स्थानानामभिघातश्च न विना शब्दभावनाम् ॥” इति । तथाच तदीयज्ञानमपि शब्दसामानाधिकरण्यमवगाहेत इति वाच्यम् ।

१. आधुनिकगोविन्दे प्रसिद्धगोविन्दगुणारोपे हेतुः संबन्धः स्वं प्रसिद्धगोविन्दः तत्र शक्त गोविन्दपदं तत्संकेतः पितृसंकेतः तद्विषयत्वं आधुनिकगोविन्दे ।

निरुक्तहेतोरप्रयोजकत्वेन तेषां शब्दभावनासत्त्वे प्रमाणाभावात् । अस्तुवा तेषामपि शब्द-  
भावना । तथापि अर्थस्य केन शब्देन तादात्म्यम् । नहि मूकादीनामविशदः शब्दोऽस्तीत्यत्र  
किञ्चित्प्रमाणमस्ति । नहि शब्दभावना स्मृतिर्वा अनुभूतस्य सत्तायां प्रमाणम् । अतीत-  
घटस्मरणकाले अतीतघटस्याभावात् । नच वर्तत एव तदानीमपि बौद्धो घट इति वाच्यम् ।  
बौद्धार्थस्य निराकरिष्यमाणत्वात् । तस्माद्बालमूकादीनां शब्दसामानाधिकरण्येनार्थप्रतीतिर्न  
संभवति ।

अथ शब्दार्थसंबन्धमजानताम् शब्दसामानाधिकरण्येन अर्थप्रतीतिः, उत नेति  
सन्देह एवास्तु । व्युत्पन्नानाम् जायमानः सविकल्पकप्रत्ययः शब्दसामानाधिकरण्यमव-  
गाहत इति शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्ये सिद्धे बालादिज्ञानानामपि अर्थविषयकत्वेन तदात्मक-  
शब्दविषयकत्वं सिद्धयतीति चेत् । न । व्युत्पन्नानाम् तथा प्रतीतेरेवासिद्धेः । तेहि सास्नादि-  
मदूषस्यार्थस्य गोशब्दो वाचक इति प्रतीयन्ति । न त्वयं गोशब्द इति । यत्र च अयं  
गौरिति अभेदेन संबन्धबोधनम् तत्र गोशब्दः गोशब्दप्रतिपाद्ये निरूढलक्षणिकः । यथा  
गौर्बाहीक इत्यत्र गोत्वं समवायात् गोतादात्म्याद्वा न बाहीकोपाधिः । अपितु गोगुण-  
लक्षकत्वेन । बाहीके गौरिति प्रतीतेरभावात् । तथा गवि अयं गोशब्द इति प्रतीतेरभावात्  
गोशब्दः वाच्यत्वोपलक्षकतया इदंपदार्थोपाधिः ।

(a) यदपि अज्ञातवाचकस्य पुरुषस्य अर्थे ज्ञातेऽपि किमिदमिति न जानामीति  
व्यवहारात् ज्ञाने शब्दो भासते इति ।

तदपि न । अयं क इत्यादौ विधेयवाचककिंशब्दस्य, समभिव्याहृतपदोप-  
स्थाप्यतावच्छेदकत्वोपलक्षितधर्मावच्छिन्नोद्देश्यतानिरूपितविधेयतावच्छेदकत्वेन वक्तृजिज्ञा-  
सितः यो विशेषधर्मः तदवच्छिन्ने शक्तिः । धर्मे विशेषत्वञ्च विधेयतावच्छे-  
दकत्वेन वक्तृज्ञानाविषयत्वम् । सच विशेषधर्मः प्रकरणादिना ज्ञायते । यदा प्रष्टा इमं  
प्राणिनं जानाति न मनुष्यमिति प्रकरणाज्ज्ञायते । तदा अयं क इति प्रश्ने अयं मनुष्य  
इत्युत्तरं दीयते । यदा तु इमं मनुष्यं जानाति न ब्राह्मणमिति ज्ञायते । तदा अयं ब्राह्मण  
इत्युत्तरं दीयते । अयं क इति न जानामीत्यादौ इतिशब्दः समभिव्याहृतवाक्यप्रति-  
पाद्यजिज्ञासाविषयधर्मविशेषविषयकपरः । स चाभेदेन धात्वर्थज्ञानान्वयी । तथाच तादृश-  
वाक्यत्वं समभिव्याहृतवाक्यप्रतिपाद्यजिज्ञासाविषयधर्मविशेषविषयकाभिन्नज्ञानाभाववानहं  
इति बोधो भवतीति वस्तुस्थितिः । प्रकृतेच अज्ञातवाचकः अर्थदर्शी पुरुषः अयं क

इति पृच्छति । अयं क इति न जानामीति व्यवहरति च । पार्श्वस्थश्च पुरुषः प्रष्टुं पुरोवर्ती पदार्थस्सम्यगनुभूयते । परन्तु तस्य अर्थस्य पदविशेषवाच्यत्वं न ज्ञातम् । तस्मात्पदविशेषवाच्यत्वप्रकारको बोधो जननीय इति अयं एतच्छब्दवाच्य इति वाचकशब्दमुपदिशति । ततः स्वेन जिज्ञासितस्य धर्मविशेषस्य ज्ञातत्वात् अयं क इति ज्ञातमिति व्यवहरति । एवञ्च ज्ञाने पदभानं नावश्यकम् । यदिच पदभाने आग्रहः, तदा चैत्रादिज्ञाने तदीयपाचकत्वादिधर्मविशेषा अपि भासन्त इत्यपि स्वीकरणीयं भवेत् । नामधेये ज्ञातेऽपि अर्थगतविशेषधर्मान्तराज्ञानात् अयं चैत्रः क इत्यपि पृच्छ्यते अयं चैत्रः क इति न जानामीति व्यवहियते च । अयं चैत्रः पाचक इत्युत्तरेण तद्वृत्ते पाचकत्वधर्मविशेषे ज्ञाते अयं चैत्रः क इति ज्ञातमिति व्यवहियते । तथाच पाचकत्वाज्ञानेन चैत्रे अज्ञातत्वव्यवहारस्य तज्ज्ञानेन तत्र ज्ञातत्वव्यवहारस्य च तुल्यत्वात् चैत्रज्ञानेऽपि पाचकत्वादि भासते इत्यापद्येत । तस्मात्पूर्वोक्तप्रकार एव साधुः । तत्रच न कार्यकारणभावकल्पनागौरवम् । तथाच सर्वत्र ज्ञाने पदभानं नावश्यकम् ।

(b) यच्चोक्तम् कोकिलं (अर्थ) जानतः कोकिलपदेच तद्वाचकत्वमजानतः पुरुषस्य अयं कोकिल इत्यनुव्यवसायवारणाय पदभानमावश्यकमिति ।

तत्र । अयं कोकिल इति जानातीत्यादौ इतिशब्दः तत्तद्वाक्यजन्यबोधसमानाकारकपरः । इतिपदार्थश्चाभेदेन धात्वर्थज्ञानान्वयी । स्पष्टञ्चेदमभिहितं भट्टाचार्यैः शक्तिवादे विशेषकाण्डे युग्मदर्थनिरूपणावसरे । एवञ्च अयं कोकिल इत्यनुव्यवसाय इत्यस्य अयं कोकिल इति वाक्यजन्यबोधसमानाकारकानुव्यवसाय इत्यर्थः । तस्यच नापत्तिस्संभवति । शाब्दबोधविषयकोकिल(अर्थ)विषयकज्ञानस्य सत्त्वात् । नच इतिज्ञानमित्यस्य पूर्वाक्तार्थाभिन्नज्ञानमित्यर्थः अर्थज्ञानयोश्च तादात्म्याध्यास इति वाच्यम् आन्तरत्वबाह्यत्व, चक्षुर्ग्राह्यत्वतदग्राह्यत्वादिविरुद्धधर्मप्रत्यक्षे जागरूके सति अर्थज्ञानयोरभेदज्ञानस्यासंभवात् । अन्यथा 'सुखं भवतु इति इच्छा' इति प्रतीतिबलात् सुखभवनरूपार्थस्य इच्छायाश्चाभेदाध्यासः तयोः तादात्म्यश्च सिद्धयेत् । अथ तत्पुरुषीयज्ञानं अयं कोकिल इत्यभिलष्येतेत्यत्र दूषणतात्पर्यमिति चेन्न । कोकिलपदे तच्छक्तिं जानद्विरस्माभिः तदीयज्ञानस्य कोकिलशब्देनाभिलापस्येष्टत्वात् । अथ तेनैव स्वीयप्रतीतिः कोकिलशब्देनाभिलष्येतेति चेन्न । तस्य कोकिलपदे शक्तिग्रहाभावेन तेन तथा अभिलपितुमशक्यत्वात् ।

(c) यदपि प्रत्यक्षादौ विषयताभाननियमनिर्वाहाय पदभानमावश्यकमिति ।



तदपि न । ज्ञाने यस्मिन्भासते स विशेष्यः । तस्मिन्यो भासते स प्रकारः । अयं घट इति ज्ञाने घटे घटत्वं भासते इति घटो विशेष्यः । घटत्वं प्रकारः । घटनिष्ठा विशेष्यता घटत्वनिष्ठप्रकारताच ज्ञाननिरूपिता । न तु ज्ञानविषयः । न च विषयत्वस्य व्यवसाये अभाने अनुव्यवसाये भानं न संभवतीति वाच्यम् । यतः ‘व्यवसायो यद्विशेष्यकः यत्प्रकारकश्च, सः तद्विशेष्यकत्वेन तत्प्रकारकत्वेन चानुव्यवसाये भासते’ इत्येव नियमः । न तु ‘व्यवसाये यद्भासते तदेवानुव्यवसाये भासते’ इति । तथाच विषयत्वस्य व्यवसायाविषयस्यापि अनुव्यवसाये भानं संभवति । अयं गुड इति व्यवसायस्य माधुर्यप्रकारकत्वाभावेन न तदनन्तरभाव्यनुव्यवसाये माधुर्यं भासते । अपितु गुडत्वप्रकारकत्वेनैव व्यवसायो भासते । यदिच ‘व्यवसायविषय एव अनुव्यवसाये भासते’ इति नियमः, तदा व्यवसायाविषयो व्यवसायः कथं अनुव्यवसाये भासते इति वक्तव्यम् । न च ज्ञानस्वप्रकाशत्ववादिनामस्माकं मते व्यवसायोऽपि व्यवसायविषय एवेति न पूर्वोक्तदोष इति वाच्यम् । तथासति व्यवसायातिरिक्तानुव्यवसायाभावेन अनुव्यवसाये विषयताभानाय व्यवसाये विषयताभानमित्युक्तेरसंगतत्वात् । अस्तुवा प्रत्यक्षादावपि विषयताभानम् । तथापि न पदविषयकत्वं प्रत्यक्षादीनाम् । भवदुक्तनियमशरीरे यत्पदविषयकमित्यंशमपहाय तत्स्थाने यत्पदाभिलष्यमिति निवेशेन सर्वसामञ्जस्यात् । तथाच ‘यज्ज्ञानं यत्पदाभिलष्यं तत् तत्पदजन्यबोधविषयतासमानविषयताकम्’ इति नियमेनैव विषयताभाननियमनिर्वाह-स्संभवतीति न तदर्थं पदविषयकत्वं प्रत्यक्षादीनां कल्पनीयम् ॥

(d) इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नमिति सूत्रे अव्यपदेश्यपदम् निर्विकल्पकपरम् । तेन प्रत्यक्षज्ञानस्य सविकल्पकनिर्विकल्पकभेदेन द्वैविध्यम् सूचितम् । न तु शाब्दबोधे अति-व्याप्तिवारणाय अव्यपदेश्यपदम् । येन शाब्दबोधस्य शब्दविषयकत्वं सूत्रकाराभिमतमिति कल्प्येत । तत्सूत्रभाष्यकारस्यापि न शाब्दबोधस्य शब्दविषयकत्वमभिमतम् । “अर्थवन्ना-मधेशशब्देन व्यपदिश्यमानं सच्छाब्दं प्रसज्यते” इति भाष्यम् । अस्यच प्रत्यक्षस्य शाब्द-बोधत्वापत्तौ न तात्पर्यम् । अपितु प्रत्यक्षमपि शब्दविषयकमिति शब्दरहितमविकल्पकं नास्तीत्यत्र । स्पष्टश्चायमर्थः तत्रत्यतात्पर्यटीकायाम् । तस्माच्छाब्दबोधे शब्दभानं न न्यायभाष्यकारसंमतम् ।

ता—टी, १२६ पृष्ठे.

तथा चार्थानां नामधेयात्मकत्वात् तद्गोचरमालोचनमपि नामधेयगोचरमिति अर्थवन्नाम-धेयेन व्यपदिश्यमानं शाब्दं प्रसज्यत इति । न शब्दप्रमाणकतया शाब्दम् । अपितु शब्दे जावं

अपिच प्रत्यक्षादिज्ञानेऽपि शब्दो भासते इति वदद्भिः कथं भासते इति वक्तव्यम् । नहि चक्षुषः शब्देन लौकिकसंनिकर्षोऽस्ति । नापि ज्ञानलक्षणा प्रत्यासत्तिः । अन्यथाख्यातिनिराकरणावसरे ज्ञानलक्षणायाः प्रत्यासत्तेः भवद्भिः निराकृतत्वात् । तस्माद्यथा सुरभिश्चन्दनखण्ड इति ज्ञाने सौरभं संस्कारसंबन्धेन, चन्दनखण्डश्च संयोगेन भासते । एवम् शब्दः संस्कारसंबन्धेन, घटश्च लौकिकसंनिकर्षेण घटप्रत्यक्षे भासते इति वाच्यम् । तथाच घटादिप्रत्यक्षमपि स्मृत्यनुभवविजातीयं सुरभिश्चन्दनखण्ड इति ज्ञानवदिति केवलप्रत्यक्षस्यैवाप्रसिद्ध्यापत्तिः । न चेष्टापत्तिः । स्मृतित्वासमानाधिकरण-प्रत्यक्षत्वस्याप्रसिद्ध्या सांकर्यस्यैवाप्रसक्त्या सांकर्यभिया सुरभिचन्दनमिति ज्ञानस्य विजातीयज्ञानत्वाङ्गीकारस्य निर्वाजत्वापातात् ।

किञ्च गोज्ञानं अयं गौरिति शब्देनाभिलप्यते । शब्दाश्च स्वभावतोऽर्थपराः । अभिलापजन्यबोधश्च इदंपदार्थे गोशब्दाभिधेयार्थभेदमवगाहते । अभिलापजन्य-प्रतीतितुल्या चाभिलप्यमानप्रतीतिः । तथाच तच्छब्दाभिलप्यप्रतीतिरपि इदंपदार्थे गोपदार्थभेदमेवावगाहते । नतु शब्दमपि विषयीकरोति । तस्मान्न अयं गौरित्यादि-प्रतीतिः शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्ये मानम् ॥

(२) यदुक्तम् शब्दपुरस्सरत्वाद्विकल्पस्य शब्दोपायकत्वं शब्दविषयकत्वं वेति सिद्धं तयोस्तादात्म्यमिति ।

तत्र । सविकल्पकप्रत्ययोत्पत्तेः पूर्वं नियमेन शब्दस्याभावात् । अस्तुवा शब्द-स्मरणम् । तथापि न तत्पूर्वकस्य अर्थज्ञानस्य शब्दतादात्म्यापन्नार्थविषयकत्वम् ।

शब्दम् । शब्दश्चास्य विषयत्वेन जनकः अर्थतादात्म्यात् । तथाच नाविकल्पं शब्दरहितमस्तीति तात्पर्यार्थः । तथाचाहुः । “ न सोस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमाहते । अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ” । तदस्य निराकरणं लक्षणगतेन आलोचनज्ञानावरोधात् न अव्यपदेश्यपदेन सूचितम् । परीक्षापर्वणि वचनार्हमपि सुभाषितरुचितया तद्विलम्बमसहमानो भाष्यकारः लक्षणा-वसर एवाह । अत एवाह । अव्यपदेश्यमितीति ।

१. मञ्जू २५५ पृष्ठे

वस्तुतो ज्ञानलक्षणाप्रत्यासत्तिरेव न । अविद्यमानस्य प्रत्यासत्तिस्वायोगात् । न च ज्ञान-विषयत्वं प्रत्यासत्तिः । ज्ञानविषयोभयस्वरूपाविषयता इति मते ज्ञाननाशे तस्या वक्तुमशक्य-त्वात् । तस्मात् स्मृताविव संस्कार एव प्रत्यासत्तिः । एवञ्च मदुक्त एव पर्यवसानम् । सुरभि-चन्दनं, सोयमित्यादि च संस्कारचक्षुस्संनिकर्षाद्युभयजन्यज्ञानान्तरमेवेति न स्मृतित्वानुभव-त्वयोस्तत्र संकरः ॥

तथासति घटस्मरणपूर्वकं घटाभावज्ञानमपि घटतादात्म्यापन्नाभावविषयकमिति घटतदभाव-  
योस्तादात्म्यं सिद्धयेत् । परन्तु व्युत्पन्नस्य प्रथमतः इन्द्रियार्थसंनिकर्षेण अर्थविषयकं  
निर्विकल्पकं जायते । तेनच शब्दविषयकस्संस्कार उद्बुद्धः शब्दस्मरणं जनयति ।  
अतः सविकल्पकप्रत्ययः शब्दस्मरणपुरस्सरो जायते । न चैतावता शब्दस्मरणसवि-  
कल्पकयोरुपायोपेयभावः, शब्दस्य विकल्पविषयत्वं वा सिद्धयति । न हि धूमविषय-  
काविकल्पेनोद्बोधितः महानसीयवह्निस्संस्कारः वह्निस्मरणं जनयति, ततः धूमसविकल्पक-  
प्रत्ययो जायते इति, वह्निस्मरणधूमविकल्पयोः उपायोपेयभावः बह्वेवा धूमविकल्पविषय-  
त्वम् । शब्दस्मरणस्योपायत्वेपि, असन्निहिते अतीतादौ स्मरणसंभवेन, शब्दस्मरणेन  
शब्दसंनिधानं नापेक्षितम् । येन अर्थसंनिध्यमेव शब्दसंनिध्यमिति तयोस्तादात्म्यं  
सिद्धयेत् ॥

(३) यच्चोक्तं शब्दार्थप्रश्नयोरेकाकारोत्तरदर्शनात् तयोस्तादात्म्यमिति ।

तत्र । शब्दानामर्थपरत्वमेव स्वाभाविकम् । घटइत्ययमर्थः इत्युत्तरवाक्येच घट-  
पदस्य घटः (वस्तु) अर्थः इतिशब्दस्य अमेदोऽर्थः, तथाच अयमर्थः घटाभिन्न इति  
तद्वाक्याद्बोधः । शब्दप्रश्ने घटइत्ययं शब्दः इत्युत्तरं दीयते । तत्र घटशब्दः शब्दपरः ।  
तस्य शब्दपरत्वं द्योतयति इतिशब्दः । तथाच अयं शब्दः घटा (आनुपूर्वीविशिष्ट)-  
भिन्न इति बोधः । एवञ्चोत्तरयतः पुरुषस्य न शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्याध्यासः । अपिच  
शब्दः आकाशनिष्ठः श्रोत्रग्राह्यः अर्थश्च भूतलनिष्ठः चक्षुर्ग्राह्यश्चेति विरुद्धधर्मप्रत्य-  
क्षस्य, कम्बुग्रीवादिमानर्थः न घटशब्दः इति विपरीतप्रतीतिरबाधितायाश्च सार्वजनीन-  
त्वात् शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्याध्यास एव न संभवति ॥

(४) यदपि पदं श्रुतं अर्थं शृणु इति व्यवहारमूलप्रतीत्या तादात्म्यसिद्धिरिति ।

तदपि न । तत्रत्यार्थपदस्य पूर्वोक्तपदवाच्यार्थप्रतिपादकपर्यायान्तरे, वाक्ये वा  
लाक्षणिकत्वात् । नच तत्र तदघटकार्थपदम् न शब्दपरमिति द्योतनायैव पदं श्रुतमित्युक्त-  
मिति वाच्यम् । यतः पदं पूर्वं श्रुतम् । तथापि विस्तरेण तत्प्रतिपाद्यार्थप्रतिपादक-  
वाक्यम्, तत्प्रतिपाद्यार्थबोधकपर्यायपदान्तरं वा न श्रुतम् । तस्मादर्थपदस्य निरुक्तार्थकथने  
न कोऽपि विरोधः । अपिच श्रोतव्य इत्यादौ श्रुधातोऽशब्दबोधार्थकत्वस्य भट्टाचार्यै-  
र्व्यवस्थापितत्वात् अर्थं शृणु इत्यत्रापि धातोऽशब्दबोधार्थकत्वमेव अर्थस्य शब्दबोध-

विषयत्वमस्त्येव । तथाच क तादात्म्याध्यासः । तथाच शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्याध्यासो नावश्यकः ॥

(५) ‘वृद्धिरादैच्’ इत्यत्र वृद्धिशब्दः तद्वाच्ये निरूढलाक्षणिकः । तथाच आदैच् वृद्धिपदबोधः इत्यर्थः । ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्मेत्यत्रापि अक्षरशब्दः तत्प्रतिपाद्ये निरूढलाक्षणिकः । तथाच न शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्याध्यासमूलकः तादृशः प्रयोगः । वस्तु-  
तस्तु ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्मेति श्रुतिः प्रणवे ब्रह्मदृष्टिविधानार्था । उपासनाप्रकरणात् । अन्यथा “असौ वाव लोको गौतमाम्निः” इति श्रुत्या अग्निद्युलोकयोरपि तादात्म्यं सिद्धयेत् ।

(६) यदपि “रामेति द्व्यक्षरं नाम मानभङ्गः पिनाकिनः” इति प्रयोगः शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्याध्यासमूलक इति ।

तदपि न । रामशब्दार्थो यथा पिनाकिनो मानभङ्गप्रयोजकः एवं रामना-  
मापि स्ववाच्यार्थद्वारा मानभङ्गप्रयोजकम् । तथाच शब्दस्य मानभङ्गकत्वमभिहितम् इति नात्र तादात्म्याध्यासः ।

(७) यदप्युक्तम् “हिरण्यपूर्वं कशिपुं प्रचक्षते” इति प्रयोगमूलतादात्म्याध्या-  
सात्तयोस्तादात्म्यसिद्धिरिति ।

तदपि न । यथा गभीरायां नद्यां घोषः इत्यत्र नदीपदं गभीरनदीतीरलक्षकम् ।  
तत्तात्पर्यग्राहकञ्च गभीरपदम् । तथा प्रकृते कशिपुपदं हिरण्यकशिपुशब्दप्रतिपाद्ये  
निरूढलाक्षणिकम् । हिरण्यपूर्वपदं तात्पर्यग्राहकम् । संमतश्चायं बोधो भवतामपि ।  
“अन्त्ये हिरण्यकशिपुनामानं इति प्रतीतेः सर्वानुभवसिद्धत्वात्” इति स्वयमेवोक्तत्वात् ।  
तस्मान्नात्रापि शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्याध्यास इति न तेन तादात्म्यं सिद्धयति ॥

अपिच शब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यमङ्गीकुर्वाणैः, अयं भावभिन्न इति प्रतीत्या भावभिन्नस्य  
(अर्थस्य) शब्देन तादात्म्यमङ्गीकार्यम् । तच्च न संभवति । शब्दस्य भावत्वात् अर्थस्य  
च तद्विन्नत्वात् । नच भिन्नयोरेव तादात्म्यमङ्गीक्रियत इति नेदमनिष्टमिति वाच्यम् ।  
भेदसमानाधिकरणाभेदरूपतादात्म्यवादिभिरपि अत्यन्तभेदे तादात्म्यं न स्वीक्रियते । तथाच

अयं भावादत्यन्तभिन्नः इति प्रतीत्या तादृशार्थशब्दयोरपि तादात्म्यमङ्गीकार्यं तच्चात्यन्त-  
भेदे तादात्म्यासंभवान्नाङ्गीकर्तुं शक्यते । नच अभावस्य अधिकरणात्मकत्वेन अधिकरण-  
भावतादात्म्यापन्नत्वात् भावादत्यन्तभिन्नः अर्थ एव नास्तीति वाच्यम् । घटाभावे यो  
जलाभावः तस्य अधिकरणीभूताभावतादात्म्यवत्त्वेऽपि भावतादात्म्याभावाद्भावादत्यन्तभिन्नो-  
ऽभावः प्रसिद्धयत्येव । नच सर्वेषामपि तत्तद्वाचकरूपभावतादात्म्यापन्नत्वात् भावाद-  
त्यन्तभिन्नार्थो नास्तीति नोक्तदोष इति वाच्यम् । एतावतापि शब्दार्थतादात्म्यस्या-  
सिद्धत्वेन, तादात्म्यसाधनावसरे सिद्धवत्कथनस्यासङ्गतत्वात् ।

एवम् शब्दाभाव इति प्रतीतेः शब्दाभावस्य (अर्थस्य) तेन शब्देन तादात्म्यमङ्गी-  
कार्यम् । तच्च न संभवति शब्दाभावे शब्दाभावशब्दस्यापि प्रतियोगित्वात् । प्रतियोग्य-  
भावयोश्च तादात्म्यस्य कैरप्यनङ्गीकारात् । नच शब्दाभाव इति प्रतीतिविषयाभावे  
शब्दाभावशब्दः न प्रतियोगीति तयोस्तादात्म्ये न विरोध इति वाच्यम् । शब्द-  
सामान्याभाववगाहिप्रतीतिविषयाभावे शब्दसामान्यस्य प्रतियोगित्वेन शब्दविशेषस्याप्रति-  
योगित्वकथनस्यासंगतत्वात् ॥ तस्माच्छब्दार्थयोस्तादात्म्यं न विचारसहमिति तस्य शक्त्युप-  
कारकत्वं सुतरां न संभवति ॥

— (अनुवर्ति)



# University Notes

## FOUNDER'S DAY

The Fifth Founder's Day was celebrated on the 12th October, 1934, under the presidency of R. Littlehailes Esq., M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras.

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## SPECIAL LECTURES

The following special lectures were delivered since the last issue was published :—

MR. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A., B.L.

1. Trade Guilds in Ancient India.
2. Trade Guilds in Mediaeval India.
3. Plea for reconstruction and resuscitation.

MR. M. D. RAGHAVAN.

*(Of the Madras Museum)*

1. Appeal of Anthropology to the Student.
2. Rambles of Early Man.\*
3. The Racial History of South India.\*

\* *Illustrated with lantern slides.*

\* \* \* \* \*

## CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

Mr. K. Ponniah Pillai, Pandit in the Music Department of the University, presided over the Music Conference held at Madras in the second week of December, 1933.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dr. S. Ramachandra Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Physics, attended the First meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore, held in July 1934 and read a paper on "Magnetism of Tin". He is also one of the Foundation Members of the Indian Academy of Sciences, Bangalore.

## STAFF

We congratulate Mr. S. Sivasankaranarayana Pillai, M.Sc., Lecturer in Mathematics in the University on obtaining the degree of Doctor of Science of the Madras University. He is the first to win this unique distinction for a thesis in Mathematics. He was also the first to win the research M.Sc., degree of the same university. His thesis consisted of four papers with the following titles :—

1. On New Orders of Infinity.
2. On Numbers analogous to Ramanujam's Highly Composite Numbers.
3. On the Sum Function of the Number of Prime Factors of a Number.
4. Generalisation of a Theorem of Mangoldt.

Besides the papers above mentioned he has contributed about twenty papers to Indian and Foreign Journals.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dr. S. N. Chakravarthi, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Professor of Chemistry and his research student, Mr. M. Swaminathan, have discovered a new synthesis of  $\psi$  opianic acid, and a new general method of synthesising Phthalonic acids. It is claimed that this method is simpler than those adopted by Perkin, Solomon and Edwards and that it is capable of wide expansion. A note on the subject appears in *Current Science*, Vol. 11. No. 12, June 1934, pp. 172-73.

\* \* \* \* \*

Professor Chakravarthi has been elected to the Council of the Indian Chemical Society.

\* \* \* \* \*

Professor K. R. Pisharoti, M.A., has accepted the Editorship of the Journal of the Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. A. Narasinga Rao, M.A., L.T., Professor of Mathematics in the University, has become the Editor of *The Mathematics Student*, a quarterly, dedicated to the service of students and teachers of Mathematics in India, published by the Indian Mathematical Society. In this work he has secured the co-operation, among others, of Mr. B. Ramamurti, M.A., and of Dr. S. Sivasankaranarayana Pillai, M.Sc., of this University.

Mr. C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A., Professor of History, has been appointed a member of the Board of Studies in History of the Madras University. He has also been elected by the Syndicate of this University to represent it in the S. S. L. C. Board.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. R. V. Seshiah, M.A., Lecturer in Zoology, has been invited by the Andhra University to write a book on Zoology in Telugu.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, M.A., B.Com., Professor of Economics, has been appointed a member of the Board of Studies in Economics, Statistics and Political Science of the Mysore University. He has also been elected one of the two Joint Secretaries of the All-India Rural Library Association and to the Council of the Indian Economic Association.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. A. Venkatasubban, B.A., M.Sc., of the Annamalai University was awarded a Government of Madras Scholarship for further research work in the Indian Institute, Bangalore.

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### RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS.

A text-book of Logic in Tamil by Mr. K. R. Applachariar, M.A., was published under the auspices of the University in April last.

\* \* \* \* \*

A prize of Rs. 750 has been offered by the University for the best MSS. of a Tamil Text Book on Music for use in the Sangitha Bhushana Classes.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Syndicate has sanctioned the publication of the following books :—

1. Text and commentary of *Tatvavibhava* by Parameswara, a commentary on Vacaspati Misra's *Tatvabindu*.
2. *Swarasiddhantachendrika* by Srinivasa Sankhyavan.

\* \* \* \* \*

### COURSES OF STUDIES

Two New Courses in Zoology and Botany for the B.Sc., were started in this academic year.



## TAMIL RESEARCH

During the year the New Research Department in Tamil started work ; Vidwan Raghava Iyengar of the Ramnad Samasthanam and Pandithamani M. Kadiresan Chettiar have been appointed.

\* \* \* \* \*

## NEW BUILDINGS

1. The construction of the following buildings is in progress :—  
Six Staff Quarters ; Post Office ; Dispensary and Hospital ; Police Out-post ; and Quarters for the Medical Staff.
2. The Syndicate has sanctioned Rs. 18,000 for the construction of a Women's Hostel.
3. A magnificent Club Building for the Annamalai Nagar Ladies' Club is nearing completion. It is the generous gift of The Hon'ble Dr. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., of Chettinad, the Founder-Pro-Chancellor of our University.

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## RESEARCH STUDENTSHIPS

The following Studentships were renewed during the year :—

NAME.	SUBJECT	PERIOD
Mr. S. Natarajan, B.A. (Hons.)	The Political and Economic Conditions of South India in the 17th and 18th Centuries	1 year
Mr. V. Sivaraman, B.A. (Hons.)	Industrial Labour in South India.	1 year
Mr. K. Rangaswami, B.Sc. (Hons.)	Differential Geometry	1 year
Mr. P. S. Varadachari, B.Sc. (Hons.)	X-Rays.	1 year
Mr. M. Swaminathan, B.A.	Synthetical Experiments in the Alkaloids and the Chemical Investigation of Indian Medicinal Plants	1 year

The following Studentships were awarded during the year :—

Mr. V. Vridagirisan, B.A. (Hons.)	The Political and Social Conditions of South India at the time of the Muhammadan invasion.	1 year
Mr. V. Venkataraman, B.A. (Hons.)	Economic Survey of a few villages in and near Annamalai Nagar	1 year
Mr. P. Jagannathan, B.Sc. (Hons.)	Theory of Numbers	1 year
Mr. K. C. Subrahmanyam,, ,	Magnetism : X-Rays	1 year
Mr. N. Vaidyanathan,, ,	Synthetical experiments in the group of alkaloids	1 year
Mr. R. Rajagopalan, B.A. (Hons.)	A Study of Rasa with reference to Bharata or a Study of Bharata	1 year
Mr. K. S. Narasimha Sastri	A comparative Study of Appayya Dikshitar and Jagannatha Panditha, re: their views on Alamkara	1 year
Mr. S. Ganapathi, B.A., <i>Vidwan</i>	Studies in Tamil Literary History and Tamil Grammar	1 year
Mr. E. S. Thiagaraja Desikar, <i>Vidwan</i>	1. சங்கப் புலவர்களின் வரலாறுகள். 2. தொல்காப்பியமும் திருக்குறளும். 3. பரத்தையரும் கோயில்களும். 4. சைவ சமயாச்சாரியர்களின் காலமும் அக்கால நூல்களும். 5. வேற்றுமை இலக்கண ஆராய்ச்சி.	

The following theses have been completed during the year by Research Students of the University :—

Rise and Development of Vaishnavism in the Tamil Country.

By B. V. Ramanujam, M.A.

Statistics. By S. Venkatachari, B.A. (Hons.).

A Critical Study of Vakyapadiya.

By R. Ramakrishnan, B.A. (Hons.).

## Notes

### A NOTE ON THE OCCURRENCE OF CERTAIN SCULPTURES IN THE CHIDAMBARAM TEMPLE

By

B. V. N. NAIDU AND P. S. NAIDU  
(*Annamalai University*)

The granite panels flanking the upper flight of stairs leading from the south into the Hall of 1000 Pillars in the Chidambaram Temple contain sculptured reliefs of great artistic and cultural, and (probably) of historic interest. These figures were noticed by us while working on the sculptures in the Temple Gopurams. They are not likely to attract the attention of a casual visitor, as the portico of the Hall has become a repository for lumber.

The figures are encrusted over with hard coatings of lime and plaster, and the task of photographing them is rendered difficult. Luckily the northern half of the western panel is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation. The three figures in that half have been photographed and reproduced in Plates I and II.

Figure I represents a young lady in a graceful posture, figures II and III represent the attendants. The pose, the delineation, and the general atmosphere of these sculptures suggest Buddhistic influences. The resemblance between figure I and the princess Maya in the Ajanta frescoes is rather very striking. Plate XXI of Part II of 'Ajanta' published by Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., Director of Archaeology, H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, has been copied and reproduced in Plate I with Mr. Yazdani's kind permission, for comparison. The conclusions that we may arrive at by a careful study of these sculptures are likely to throw light on the architectural evidences which are supposed to be available for indicating that there might be Buddhistic influences on the Temple. Further work on the subject is proceeding.

We wish to express our thanks to Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, M.A., Lecturer in Physics, Annamalai University, and to Mr. M. V. Subramaniam, the University Mechanic, for helping us by photographing the sculptures and copying the Ajanta plates.



A Princess—Birth of Buddha.

(From Plate XXI.—'Ajanta'.)

*By the Courtesy of G. Yazdani Esq., M.A.,  
Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad.*



Fig. I.

Chitrārḍha Sculpture in the  
Hall of 1000 Pillars, in the  
Chidambaram Temple.



Fig. II.



Fig. III.

Chitrārḍha Sculptures in the Hall of 1000 Pillars, Chidambaram Temple.

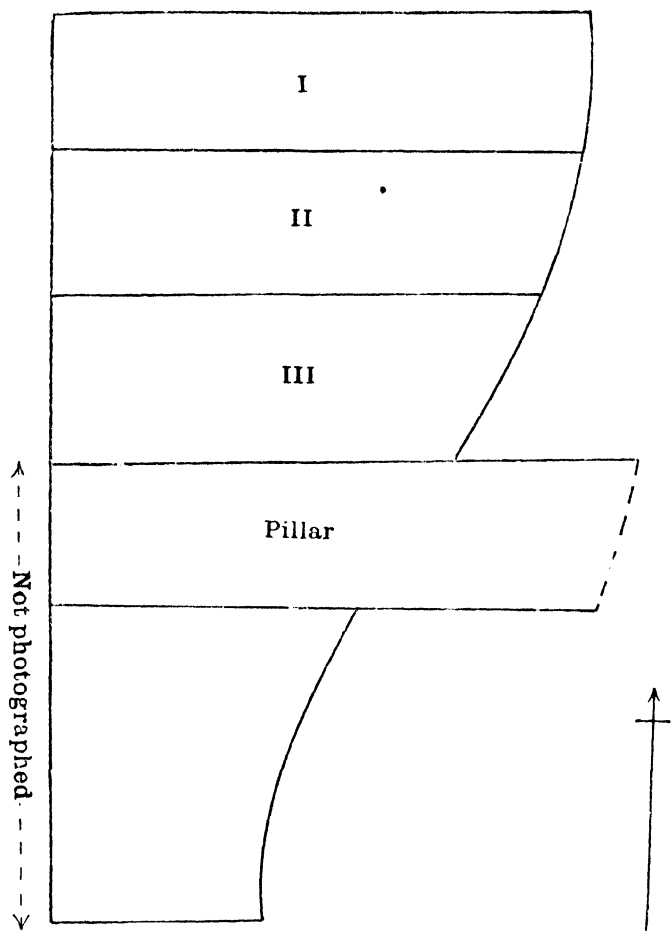


DIAGRAM INDICATING THE POSITIONS OF THE SCULPTURES.

## A NOTE ON THE CENTRE OF POPULATION.

By

G. V. KRISHNASWAMI

*(Annamalai University)*

In view of the increased interest to-day in the subject of minimum travel distances, a further study of this topic which was discussed by Mr. S. Subramaniam in Vol. III No. 1 of this Journal, may be of interest.

The mathematical formulation of the problem is two-fold. The population may be considered as concentrated at discrete, irregularly distributed points; or this situation may be idealised and one can consider a continuously distributed population with assumptions of uniform or smoothly varying density regarding the distribution. The former is the fundamental census problem and has been attacked by many, Professors Gini, Galvani, Wilson, Eells and Mr. Scates to mention a few. The last named and his associates seem to be making good progress toward establishing a working method for a general population. Professor Griffin has given attention to the second type of problem and discussed it in a considerable number of special cases.

Mr. Subramaniam considers in his paper one or two special cases of the first type. The centre of population corresponding to the second definition in the introduction is usually designated "median point" of population. Such median points for area and for population have been worked out for the State of Mysore in the recent census report for 1931. (Vide paras 15 and 16 and Appendix). It must be mentioned however that the point so defined lacks the characteristic property of a median and further is not invariant with respect to the system of co-ordinates used. The point defined by the "minimum aggregate-travel property has come to be called "median" and has a purely objective meaning with respect to the distribution under consideration.

The mistake that the centroid satisfies the minimum aggregate-travel property appears to have been made in the Census reports of the United States for the years 1910 and 1920 only. One does not find such a mistake in the previous reports. The fallacy regarding the centre of population was fully understood by the close of 1926 and one is assured it will not be repeated from 1930 onwards. In spite of this mistaken conception of the "centre of population" it serves as "a *highly useful*

*index\** of population movements. Probably no better way could be devised for summarising compactly complex population changes. The writer himself has used it in Educational studies and has strongly advised its use in other cases. It is too valuable a method to lose . . . . .”<sup>1</sup>

*Unit population at each of A, B, C.*

This is the famous Fermat problem solved by Torricelli. Goursat<sup>2</sup> introduces this problem as an example where the minimum is *not* necessarily given by equating the partial derivatives to zero. In fact he mentions that the “minimum is given by a point on the surface where the tangent plane is parallel to the  $xy$  plane or else by one of the singular points.” Even when P can be determined he proves (as seems to be necessary) that  $AB + AC > PA + PB + PC$  and so P actually corresponds to a minimum.

“When one of the angles of the triangle ABC is equal to or greater than  $120^\circ$  there exists no point at which each of the sides of the triangle ABC subtends an angle of  $120^\circ$  . . . . In this case the minimum must be given by one of the vertices of the triangle, and it is evident that this is the vertex of the obtuse angle.”

For, let  $\angle BAC = 120^\circ + x$ ;

Then  $PA + PB + PC > PA + \text{Proj of PB on AB} + \text{Proj of PC on AC}$ .

(i.e.)  $AB + AC + PA[1 - \cos \alpha - \cos(120 + x - \alpha)]$

where  $\alpha = \angle PAB$ .

$\therefore \text{L.H.S} > AB + AC + PA[(1 - 2 \cos(60 + x/2) \cos(60 - \alpha + x/2)]$   
 $> AB + AC$ . Hence the result.

*Unit population at each of A, B, C, D.*

The intersection of the diagonals will be the centre only if the quadrangle is non-reentrant.

\* Italics are mine.

1. “A mistaken conception of the Centre of Population,” W. C. Eells, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 1930, p. 37.

2. Goursat: *Mathematical Analysis* Trans. by Hedrick, Vol. I, Ch. III, Art. C2.



*Case of three unequal populations.<sup>3</sup>*

The following proof, of this case may be of interest. P being chosen to satisfy conditions of equation (4) of Mr. Subramaniam's paper, and Q being any other point,

$$\begin{aligned} T_1 \cdot QA + T_2 \cdot QB + T_3 \cdot QC &> T_1 \cdot (\text{Proj. of QA on PA}) \\ &\quad + T_2 \cdot (\text{Proj. of QB on PB}) \\ &\quad + T_3 \cdot (\text{Proj. of QC on PC}) \\ &> T_1 \cdot PA + T_2 \cdot PB + T_3 \cdot PC + QP [T_1 \cos \alpha + T_2 \cos (180^\circ - \theta_3 + \alpha) \\ &\quad + T_3 \cos (360 - \theta_3 - \theta_1 + \alpha)]. \quad \alpha = \angle QPA. \end{aligned}$$

The expression in brackets is zero as  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  are proportional to  $\sin \theta_1, \sin \theta_2$  and  $\sin \theta_3$  and  $\theta_1 + \theta_2 + \theta_3 = 180^\circ$ .

$$\text{Further } BC = \sqrt{(m_2^2 + m_3^2 + 2m_2m_3\cos \theta_1)} > m_3 + m_2\cos \theta_1;$$

Similarly  $CA > m_3 + m_1\cos \theta_2$  and  $AB > m_2 + m_1\cos \theta_3$   
where  $m_1, m_2, m_3$  are PA, PB, PC.

$$\begin{aligned} \therefore T_2 \cdot AB + T_3 \cdot CA &> T_2(m_2 + m_1\cos \theta_3) + T_3(m_3 + m_1\cos \theta_2) \\ &> T_1m_1 + T_2m_2 + T_3m_3 + m_1(T_2\cos \theta_3 + T_3\cos \theta_2 - T_1). \end{aligned}$$

The expression in brackets is zero as  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  are proportional to  $\sin \theta_1, \sin \theta_2, \sin \theta_3$  and  $\theta_1 + \theta_2 + \theta_3 = 180^\circ$ . Hence P is actually the minimum.<sup>4</sup>

3. A problem more general than the one considered here has been proposed for solution: "Problem 1711: The maximum and minimum values of  $f(x, y, z)$  where  $x, y, z$  are the distances of a point from three fixed points (all in one plane) are to be determined from the equations

$$\{1/\sin(y, z)\} \partial f / \partial x = \{1/\sin(z, x)\} \partial f / \partial y = \{1/\sin(x, y)\} \partial f / \partial z;$$

( $y, z$ ) denoting the angle between the distances  $y, z$ ." (Wolstenholme: Mathematical Problems, 3rd Edn., 1891.)

4. Another proof from elementary considerations may be of interest: It is known that if A and B are fixed points and P is a variable point on a fixed line  $\lambda \cdot AP + \mu \cdot BP$  will be a minimum if  $\lambda \cos \theta = \mu \cos \varphi$ ,  $\theta$  and  $\varphi$  being the angles which AP and BP make with the fixed line. It can therefore be easily shown that if P is a variable point on a circle with C as centre (the circle not cutting AB)  $T_1 \cdot AP + T_2 \cdot BP$  will be a minimum if  $T_1 \sin \angle CPA = T_2 \sin \angle CPB$  (i.e.)  $\sin \angle CPA / T_2 = \sin \angle CPB / T_1$ . By repeated application of this result it follows that  $T_1 \cdot AP + T_2 \cdot BP + T_3 \cdot CP$  will be a minimum if  $\sin \angle BPC / T_1 = \sin \angle CPA / T_2 = \sin \angle APB / T_3$ .

It is interesting to notice that  $\theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3$  depend only on the magnitudes of  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  and not, in general, on their positions of concentration. In fact, given B and C in position an arc at any point on which an angle  $180^\circ - \theta_1$  is subtended can be described on BC; P being any point on the arc,  $\angle CPX$  may be drawn equal to  $180^\circ - \theta_2$ ;  $\angle BPX$  will then be  $180^\circ - \theta_3$ . A with a population  $T_1$  may be anywhere on PX and P would be the centre for all such distributions. If A is on XP produced (i.e.) within the  $\triangle BPC$ , P will no longer be the centre of population and one of the vertices must be the centre.<sup>5</sup> To illustrate, Vizagapatam will be the centre for a population 647 at Madras, 1161 at Bombay and 1486 anywhere on the line joining Vizagapatam to Calcutta, for instance at Cuttack or near Cherapunji. If 1486 be situated within the triangle Madras Bombay Vizagapatam that point itself will be the centre.

The argument of Mr. S. Subramaniam does not show up this point because he has assumed that P is inside  $A_1 A_2 A_3$  first by taking  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  positive forces acting along  $PA_1, PA_2, PA_3$  to be in equilibrium and as a consequence  $\angle A_2 PA_3 = 180^\circ - \theta_1$ , etc., and secondly by assuming that there will be a common point P of the three circles.

In fact the "medians" may either fall in points of the plane distinct from  $(x_i, y_i)$  (minima of the first kind) or fall upon points of the system

5. A itself will be the centre. For, let  $\triangle BAC = 180^\circ - \theta_1 + x$ . If Q be within the  $\triangle ABC$  and  $\angle QAB = \alpha$  then, as before,  
 $T_1 \cdot QA + T_2 \cdot QB + T_3 \cdot QC > T_2 \cdot AB + T_3 \cdot AC +$   
 $QA[T_1 - T_2 \cos \alpha - T_3 \cos (180^\circ - \theta_1 + x - \alpha)].$

As  $\alpha$  increases from 0 to  $180^\circ - \theta_1 + x$ ,  $\cos \alpha$  diminishes from 1 to  $-\cos(\theta_1 - x)$  and  $\cos(\theta_1 + \alpha - x)$  diminishes from  $\cos(\theta_1 - x)$  to  $-1$ . The expression in the brackets has therefore a minimum value  $\leq T_1 - (T_2 - T_3)$  or  $T_1 - (T_3 - T_2)$  both of which are positive as  $T_1, T_2, T_3$  form the sides of a triangle.

Further, if  $a_1, a_2, a_3$  be the sides of the triangle ABC,  
 $a_1^2 = a_2^2 + a_3^2 + 2a_2 a_3 \cos(\theta_1 - x)$  (i.e.)  $a_1 > a_2 + a_3 \cos(\theta_1 - x)$ .

Therefore  $T_3(a_1 - a_2) - a_3(T_2 - T_1)$  is positive if

$T_3 a_3 \cos(\theta_1 - x) - a_3(T_2 - T_1)$  is positive i.e., if

$\sin \theta_3 \cos(\theta_1 - x) - (\sin \theta_2 - \sin \theta_1)$  is positive i.e., if

$\sin \theta_3 \cos \theta_1 - (\sin \theta_2 - \sin \theta_1)$  is positive.

This is true. Hence  $T_3 a_1 + T_1 a_3 > T_3 a_2 + T_2 a_3$ .

Similarly  $T_1 a_2 + T_2 a_1$  will be greater than the R.H.S. A is thus the centre.

$(x_i, y_i)$  (minima of the second kind). For minima of the first kind the sum of the vectors of magnitude  $T_i$  and direction  $\alpha_i$  must vanish.<sup>6</sup> In other words it has been assumed that a minimum of the first kind will always exist. The condition given above appears to me to be only a necessary condition ; it is not a sufficient condition as has been shown in the cases above.

In para 5, Mr. Subramaniam considers the minimum aggregate travel property of the centre to *fix a suitable\* venue for conferences* ; i.e., he equates the mathematical problem to a statistical problem without uttering the necessary words of warning. The factors that determine the suitability of a venue for a conference are numerous and complex ; distance is only one of them, sometimes not even an important one. To insure radial travel, aeroplanes may have to be postulated. Even when distance is the only factor the type of mathematical foundation appropriate to the purpose is a matter of taste. Some might feel that all interests were best met by that point which would make the sum of the distances the least (the median) ;<sup>7</sup> Others might reason that what we needed was the point of greatest concentration of the delegates (the mode).<sup>8</sup> Still others would maintain that the best point to meet would be that which minimised the sum of the squares of the distances that would be travelled by all the delegates if all attended.<sup>9</sup> At all events there would be years of dispute over the appropriateness of any methodology. Much more practical means suffice.

6. Translation by Lotka of Gini and Galvani's article, published in the Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1930, p. 449.

7. This is the view taken by authorities who pay travelling allowance to delegates.

8. This suggested itself to a friend of mine who is not a mathematician.

9. This point of view may be appreciated if we consider the illustration given above : Assume for a moment that Vizagapatam is a suitable venue for a distribution of 647 at Madras, 1161 at Bombay and 1486 at Cuttack ; if the 1486 at Cuttack shift to Calcutta they might reasonably expect a corresponding shift of the centre ; surely they would be annoyed if they are told that Vizagapatam is still the suitable place.

## Reviews

*Land Problem of India*—By Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., pages 369. Price 9sh.

The well known scholar, Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, has brought out in book form his Readership lectures delivered at the Calcutta University. Their publication is welcome, for in a country like India any new systematic study of this problem in all its bearings is always desirable. The agrarian problems and policies are the most important of all the questions that confront Provincial and Central Governments and many of the difficulties and hardships, of the Indian agriculturists could be eradicated, were proper agrarian reforms carried out. The enunciation of such reforms is all the more necessary, at a time when the agriculturist is overwhelmed by his burden of indebtedness and his inability to offer proper security for credit.

Steadily the proprietary ownership of village land has been passing from the cultivator to the money lender, with a consequent deterioration in production. To overcome this and many other difficulties and abuses the author suggests various reforms which would include a modified state-landlordism. The defects of the present Zamindari System are clearly analysed and a striking suggestion is put forward which would replace the autocratic features by more humane relationship between Landlord and tenant and rehabilitate the village community.

The book consists of 17 chapters which touch on all important points of the land problems of India. The first deals with the origins of land holding and the present position of the Indian peasant. Dr. Mukerjee shows that a considerable degree of unrest already exists among the peasants arising from the abuse of agrarian lands and suggests protective legislation to counteract it. The origins of communal land-ownership and types of Indian villages engage his attention in the next chapter and he proceeds subsequently to examine landlord tenures and the break-up of the village community.

The excessive fragmentation due to agnatic succession and the desire for equality has brought about uneconomical holdings, an evil which cannot be allowed to proceed. The author therefore considers the anti-partition legislation in Europe particularly in Denmark, Russia and Germany in order that similar measures may be adopted in this

country. In chapter VI he deals with the Russian Agrarian revolution, the Soviet decree of the 19th February 1919, which emphasises the transition from private to collective farming, the Russian Revised Settlement of 1922 and the recent advance towards a socialistic rural economy and proceeds to apply the principles underlying the progressive evolution of agrarian developments there to India which has, he believes, a good deal to learn from their measures for educating the peasants, stimulating production and eliminating intermediaries as well as landless rural labourers.

Tenures in Bengal and absentee landlordism are dealt with in Chapters VII and VIII and the defects and reforms of Tenancy occupy a further two chapters.

The author gives a very interesting account of the problems of permanently settled estates and points out the various intermediate tenures between the actual tiller of the soil in Bengal and the Zamindar and how this has brought about the numerous exactions of the middleman which lead to the impoverishment of the tiller. Though the rent has increased from Rs. 400 lakhs in 1793 to Rs. 1,463 lakhs in 1924, the revenue of the state has stood still. The author then points out that the Zamindars have neglected their duty by not carrying out the reforms which were imposed on them when the permanent settlement came into existence. Therefore, they are not entitled to exemption from the taxation of their agricultural incomes and should be made to pay the income-tax.

The concluding portions of the book tackle boldly such all-important topics as "The State as Landlord," agricultural labourers, the landless peasant, agricultural indebtedness, and the food position in famine and normal years. Even the problem of Taxation of agricultural income receives careful consideration from the author.

In this original and stimulating book Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee has brought together a wealth of first hand information of the greatest value. It is a thought provoking study which should be of the greatest value to politicians, statesmen, socialists and students of the rural economy of India. Prof. Mukerjee must have spent a considerable time in studying the different types of agricultural settlements in India and his suggestions and opinions deserve to receive the deepest consideration and thought from all those who are interested in land reform in India.

It is one of the most valuable books on this subject to appear in recent years, and should find a place in the book-shelves of every economist.

B. V. NARAYANASWAMY.

*Arnold and the Grand Style*—By Rev. A. J. Boyd, M.A., Oxford University Press. pp., 10, 1934.

*The Pastoral Elegy in English*—By W. C. Douglas, M.A., Oxford University Press. pp., 18, 1934.

Rev. Boyd and Professor Douglas have embodied in book form their papers read to the Madras Branch of the English Association in October and July of last year. It is heartening to find that the Madras Branch of the English Association is revived and that such interesting papers are read before it.

Rev. A. J. Boyd studies in his paper the use of the phrase, 'grand style,' by Matthew Arnold and examines how far it expresses a conception of permanent value to the critic of poetry. From the 1853 *Preface*, the *Lectures on Translating Homer*, the *Last Words on Translating Homer* and the essay on *The Study of Poetry* he considers Arnold's definition of the grand style, his grounds for excluding Shakespeare and the common elements Arnold finds, or thinks he finds, in Homer, Dante and Milton by virtue of which they rise to an eminence denied even to Shakespeare. Even before Arnold, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the great painter, uses the term 'grand style' in connection with painting and insists that a painting to be in the grand style must represent the ideal rather than the particular, must be simple with the simplicity of nature, and must express a single, noble and animating conception. The grand style according to Arnold's definition is a kind of nobility arising out of the simple or severe treatment of a serious subject and the best exemplars of these two types are Homer and Milton.

But in so far as this definition does not bar the claim of Shakespeare to the grand style it has failed to express Arnold's meaning. What Arnold really means by grand style is a sustained perfection of simplicity or severity; and on the ground that Shakespeare is not always grand Arnold refuses him grand style honours. Rev. Boyd agrees with Saintsbury in protesting against the excessive and unnatural restriction of this definition and points out the impossibility of there being any single type of grand style. Arnold himself tacitly admits this though he generalises from his own preference for the grave simplicity of Homer and the grave, strenuous, restrained magnificence of Milton. "Indeed there is not one mode of grandeur in poetry, nor two, but many. There is a grandeur of simplicity, and a grandeur of magnificence. There is a grandeur of austerity, and a grandeur of abundance."

Therefore, though Arnold's conception is suggestive and stimulating it is of little permanent value to the critic of poetry; nay, it may even

do positive harm if it leads us to look for poetic greatness not primarily in the parts but in the whole. Rev. Boyd has set about vigorously to clean the cob-webs of slovenly thought that surround the term 'grand style' and in his very interesting and stimulating paper warns us against unsound doctrines and antiquated ideas.

Professor Douglas restricts himself in his paper to a study of the pastoral element in *Lycidas* and *Adonais*. While the professor admits that to write pastoral poetry in English is to attempt to pour new wine into old bottles he maintains that pastoralism neither mars nor makes an elegy. Though the pastoral elegy is a kind of coterie poetry which cannot convey deep feeling it is an excellent medium for respect and admiration, a beautiful posy of poetry to a dead poet. An artificial product of literary ambition this calls for great skill in the poet. To win this literary Ashes one must play the game according to Sicilian standards; while Milton shows ease and mastery in his '*Lycidas*,' pastoralism only clogs the speed and cumpers the movement of Shelley's *Adonais*.

At first sight the terms employed in the pastoral elegy—terms like shepherd, oaten flute, Dorian pipe, oaks, rills, fountain Arethuse—may appear outlandish and grotesque; but the expressions, thoughts, imagery and structure of these poems can be properly understood by a clear study of their Greek and Latin originals. English pastoral elegy owes its origin to Theocritus, Bion and Moschus. *Lycidas* is based on the First Idyll of Theocritus either directly or through Virgil's Tenth Eclogue. *Adonais* owes its spiritual parentage to Bion's *Lament for Adonis* and to Moschus' *Lament for Eion*. These two elegies belong to two different types having two different sources. Professor Douglas next sets himself to explore the course of these two streams of influence.

The origin of Theocritus' pastorals is his desire to escape from the artificial city life of Alexandria (as Professor Gregg points out) by remembering and reliving the pastoral days of his Sicilian boyhood. He wrote of the life of the Dorian shepherds singing their songs by the natural springs of Arethusa, in their broad Doric, amidst the woods and desert caves, willows and hazels of his homeland. Professor Douglas summarises Theocritus' First Idyll and points out that the Sicilian topography and scenery, the nymphs and muses, became a heritage of bucolic poetry. Virgil took it over to Latin and thus set the pastoral vogue in Latin and in English poetry. Briefly reviewing the theme of Virgil's Tenth Eclogue he explains Milton's indebtedness to the Latin poet. Even in Theocritus, allusion was the salt of pastoral poetry and allegory its pepper; Virgil retains them while Milton fuses his most vital thought

with allegory. In Milton's poem the three main themes are regret, admiration and consolation, and the three mourners, the pastoral countryside, Father Camus and St. Peter, represent poetry, scholarship and the Church. Milton's grief is not very deep and he has no high opinion of King's achievements in poetry or scholarship. But to his eyes King's puritan views are most important and hence the intrusion of Christian religious feelings into the peaceful atmosphere of renaissance pastoralism. Though Milton himself is aware of the incongruity in combining classical concepts with Christian ideas St. Peter's denunciation of the hireling shepherds is not a digression but the deliberate culmination of his own poetic design.

The professor next takes up the other stream of influence which results in Shelley's *Adonais*. The *Lament for Adonis* and the *Lament for Bion* being based on the orgiastic grief of the Adonis cult the expression in them is more unrestrained; and Shelley is consequently led into extreme eulogy by the sentimental exaggerations of his Greek originals. After analysing the main structure of the poem the professor shows that the nucleus of thought in the poem is the similarity between the beautiful and fragile Adonis killed by the boar and the delicate and defenceless Adonais mauled by the critics. Hence the tremendous onslaught on the Quarterly critic who condemned the *Endymion* is an artistic gain not a blemish. This paper is a very lucid exposition of a difficult but interesting subject.

I am sure all lovers of English studies will welcome these two papers.

A. C. SUBRAHMANYAM.

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**நவீனதர்க்கம் :** கோயமுத்தூர்க் கவர்ன்மெண்டு காலேஜ் தத்வசாஸ்திர போதகாசிரியர் K. R. அப்பளாசாரியரால் எழுதப்பெற்று அண்ணாமலைப்பல்கலைக் கழகத்தாரால் திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி ஸெயின்ட் ஜோஸப்ஸ் இன்டஸ்ட்ரியல் ஸ்கூல் அச்சுக்கூடத்திற் பதிப்பிக்கப் பெற்றது ; 1934 ; பக்கம் xviii., 431.

இதுகாறும் நம்மவர் மேல்நாட்டு மொழிகளிலேயே பயின்று வந்த கலைகளில் தமிழ்மொழியில் நூல்களியற்றி, அம்மொழியின் மூலமாகவே அறிவூட்டி, தமிழரின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகவுழைப்பது அண்ணாமலைப் பல்கலைக் கழகத்தின் நோக்கங்களில் முக்கியமான தொன்று. இந்நோக்கம் நிறைவேறுமாறு சுமார் இரண்டாண்



டுகள் முன்னர் அக்கழகத்தார் தமிழிலெழுதிய வோர் தருக்கநூலுக்கு 1,000 ரூபாய் பரிசளிப்பதாக விளம்பரஞ் செய்தனர். அப்பரிசுப் போட்டிக்காக எழுதப் பெற்று பரிசளிக்கப்பட்டதே இப்புத்தகம்.

தமிழருக்குத் தருக்கநூல் புதிதல்ல. வடமொழி நியாய நூல்களை யொட்டியோ மொழிபெயர்த்தோ தமிழிலெழுதிய நூல்கள் பலவுள். மேல்நாட்டுத் தருக்கத் திற்கும் நமது தருக்கத்திற்கும் முக்கியம்சங்களில் அதிக பேதமில்லை. ஆனாலும் நம்மவர்கள் நியாயமென்பதை உண்மையைக் காணவோர் சுருவியாகக் கொண்டார் களல்லது உண்மைக் கேற்றதோர் நியாய முறையும், கேவலம் “ஒழுங்குடைமை” யைச் சாதிக்க மற்றதோர் நியாயமுமாக இருநிறப்படுத்தினார்களில்லை. இப்பாகு பாட்டினால் கற்போருக்குச் சிற்சில ‘சௌகரியங்களுண்டெனினும், உண்மைதேர் வோர்க்கு அது இடைஞ்சலாகவே ஆயிற்றென்பது மேல்நாடுகளில் பலகலைகளி லும் அறிவு நெடுநாள் குன்றியிருந்ததையும், பின் செழித்தோங்கியதையும் அவற் றின் காரணங்களையும் ஆய்ந்தோர் நன்குணர்வர். இந்த வித்தியாசத்தையொட்டி னதும் பாரி பாவதிசுமான துமான வித்தியாசங்களும் சிலவை உண்டு. இம்மாறு பாடுகளுக்கிணங்கி நமது நூற்களில்லாத பிரத்யயங்களுக்கேற்ற பதங்களையமைத் துப் புத்தகமெழுதுவது சிரமசாத்தியமானதே. நெடுநாள் முன்னர் இலங்கைக் சீவிலொருவர் மேல்நாட்டுத் தருக்கநூல் முறையில் தமிழில் ஓர் நூலியற்றியுள் ளார். அந்நூல் **நவீனதர்க்க வாசிரியர்க்கும் தெரிந்திருக்குமென்று** புலப்படுகிறது (20-ம் பக்கம் 4-வது குறிப்பைப் பார்க்க). எனினும் படிப்போர்க்கெளிதில் விளங்கக்கூடாததாலும், மாணவர் மனதைக் கவர்வதின்றி வெருட்டுவதாலும், மேல்நாட்டுத் தருக்கநூலில் கடந்த அரை நூற்றாண்டுக்குள்ளுண்டான மாறுபாடு களைப் பின்பற்றாததாலும், நம்முடைய தருக்க சாஸ்திரத்திற்கு இணங்கவைக்கா ததாலும், புத்தகமும் வெகுசாலமாய்க் கிடைப்பதரிதாகி விட்டபடியாலும் புதிய தோர் புத்தகம் அவசியம் வேண்டியதாயிற்று.

இந் **நவீனதர்க்க வாசிரியர்** பலவாண்டுகளாக மாணவர்களுக்குத் தருக்கநூல் போதித்து வருபவர். சுருங்கச்சொல்லல், விளங்கவைத்தல் முதலிய குணங்கள் அவரிடம் சுபாவமாகவே யேற்பட்டு, நெடுநாள் உபாத்திமைப் பயிற்சியினால் ஸ்திரப்பட்டு அவர் புத்தகத்தில் விளங்குகின்றன. சிற்சில கடினமான விடங் களிற்கூட படிப்போர் மனம் சலியாமல் சுலபமாய் விஷயத்தை யறியும்படி எழுதி யிருக்கிறார். இக்காலத்தில் தருக்கநூல் கற்கும் அவாவுடையோர் வெகு சிலர். அவரிலும் புத்திக் கூர்மையுடைய சிலரே நூலை ஊக்கமாய்க் கற்றுப் பயன்படுவது ; மற்றையோர் குருட்டுப்பாடம் போட்டு, ஏதோ ஜாலவித்தைகள் செய்து “மார்க்கு” ப்பெறுவதிலேயே கண்ணுயிருப்பர். இத்தகைய கலையைத் தமிழில் புகட்டுவதானால் முதல் மாணக்கனும் கடைமாணக்கனையொப்பானே வென்ற ஐயம் நிகழக்கூடும். ஆனால் ஸ்ரீமான் அப்பளாசாரியாரது புத்தகத்தைப் பார்க் கும்போது அவ்வித ஐயமொன்றனுக்கும் இடமில்லையென்று புலப்படும். நேறு கலைகளிலும் இம்மாதிரிப்புத்தகங்கள் விரைவில் வெளிவருமானால் தமிழ் மொழி யின் அபிவிருத்திக்கும் தமிழரது முன்னேற்றத்திற்கும் சிறிதும் ஐயமில்லை.

இப்புத்தகத்தில் குற்றங்களில்லாமற் போகவில்லை. ஆசிரியர் அமைத்திருக்கும் பதங்கள் சிலவிடங்களில் பொருத்தமாக வில்லை. உதாரணமாக : “proposition” என்பதற்கு “பிரதிஞ்ஞை” என்ற பதத்தை உபயோகித்திருக்கிறார். நம் மவர் தருக்கநூலில் “பிரதிஞ்ஞை” என்பது ஐந்தவயவம் கொண்ட நியாயத்தில் (five-membered syllogism) முதலாவதவயவமாகும்; பிரதிஞ்ஞை யெல்லாம் proposition ஆகலாம்; proposition எல்லாம் பிரதிஞ்ஞையாகாது; “வாக்யம்” என்பதே “proposition” என்பதற்குத் தகுந்த மொழிபெயர்ப்பாகலாம்; ஆனால் நமதாசிரியர் “வாக்யம்” என்பதை “Syllogism” என்பதற்குச் சமான பதமாக உபயோகிக்கிறார்; நம்மவர்கள் நூற்களில் “நியாயம்” அல்லது “பிரயோகம்” என்பதே இதற்கேற்ற பதமாகக் காணப்படும்; “petitio principii” என்னும் நியாயப்போலி “சித்தசாதன”மாகாது; முன்னையது துணிய வேண்டியதைத் துணித்ததாகக்கொண்டு மேல் அதையே துணியப் புகும்; இதற்குச் சக்கிரிகையென்ற பெயரும் நம்மவர் நூற்களிலுண்டு; பின்னையது துணியப்பட்டதையோ ஒத்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்டதையோ துணியப்புகும்; “abstract term” என்பதைக் “குணப்பதம்” என்கிறார்; “பண்புப்பதம்” என்பது அதனினும் மேல்; எனினின், வடமொழியையொட்டிய “குணம், குணி” என்ற வழக்குப்போல். “குணம், முக்கியம்” என்ற வழக்கும் உண்டு; எனவே “குணம்” என்ற பதம் எப்பொருளில் வழங்கப்பட்டதென்றையறிவிடமுண்டு: “பண்பு” என்னும் பதத்திலிந்நிகழ்ச்சியில்லை; அன்றியும் இலக்கண நூலாரும் “abstract noun” என்பதற்குச் சமானமானது “பண்புப்பெயர்” என்றன்றோ கூறுவர்?

இதுகாறும் எடுத்துக்காட்டியது நூலாசிரியர் மீது குற்றங் கூறுவதற்கல்ல, பாரிபாஷிக் பதங்களை ஒரு மொழியினின்றும் மற்றொரு மொழியிலமைப்பது மிகுந்தசிரமமான காரியம். தனிப்பட எவர் செய்யினும் திருப்திதரக்கூடியதில்லை. உள்ள கஷ்டங்களை நோக்குங்கால் நமதாசிரியருடைய சமர்த்தை மெச்சிக்கொள்ளவே வேண்டும். ஆயினும் அச்சிடு முன்னர் பல்கலைக் கழகத்தார் இரண்டல்லது மூன்று பண்டிதர்களை ஆசிரியருடன் கூட்டி இப்பதங்களை ஆய்ந்து பொருக்கும் படி நியமித்திருக்கக்கூடும். அவ்வாறு செய்திருந்தால், பிற்காலத்தில் தருக்கநூல், தத்துவசாஸ்திரம் முதலிய எதுவும் எழுதப் புகுவோர்க்கு என்நென்றும் இப்புத்தகம் வழிகாட்டியாயிருந்திருக்கும்.

நூற்பெயரும் நன்றாயமையவில்லை. தருக்கம் நம் நாட்டிற்குப் புதிதல்ல. மேல்நாட்டு தருக்கத்தைத் தமிழித் தமிழிலெழுதுவதும் புதிதல்ல. இரண்டு தருக்கசாஸ்திரங்களையுமிணைத்துப் புதிதாக வொன்றெழுதவுமில்லை; மேல்நாட்டில் நவீனதருக்க மென்று வழங்கி வரும் கணித முறைகளைப்பற்றிய தருக்கமுமல்ல விது. ஆகவே, “நவீனதர்க்கம்” என்பது பரிசுப் போட்டியில் புனை பெயராயமையுமேனும், இந்நூற்கேற்ற பெயராகாது.

பல்கலைக் கழகத்தார் தமிழ் வெளியீடுகளில் இது முதலாவது. இவற்றை ஏன் “vernacular” வெளியீடுகளென்று பெயரிட்டிருக்கிறார்களென்று விளங்கவில்லை

தில்லையம்பலவன் காட்சியில் வையும் கழகத்தார்க்குத் தமிழன்றி வேறொர் தாய் மொழியுமுண்டோ? அன்றி தெலுங்கு, கன்னடம், துளு முதலிய பாவைகளிலும் புத்தகங்கள் அவரால் வெளியிடப்படுமோ? அவ்வாறாயினும், அவ்வப் பிரசுரங்களை அவ்வம் மொழித்தலைப்பின் ஐதேயே தொகுக்கலாமே! தாய் மொழிப் பிரசுரங்கள் என்று தொகுத்துக் கூறவேண்டிவரினும், “vernacular” என்பனேன்? “vernacular” என்றால் அடிமையர் மொழியல்லவா? இவையெல்லாம் ஓர் குறையாகாவிடினும் தமிழர் முன்னேற்றத்தைக் கருதிய கழகத்தார் கவனிக்க வேண்டியதே. தமிழ்மொழி வெளியீடுகளநேகம் விரைவில் வெளிவருமென்றும் அவைகளில் ஈண்டுக்கூறிய குறைகளுமிராவென்றும் திண்ணமாய் நம்புகிறோம். இம்மட்டில் நவீனதர்க்கு, தை வெளியிட்டதற்காக மனமார்த்த வந்தனத்தையும் கழகத்தார்க்குச் செலுத்துகின்றோம்.

சே. சு. சூரியநாராயணன்.

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*The Salaries of Public Officials in India.* By D. R. Gadgil, M.A., M.Lit.—Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics Publication No. 1, Pages 48—Price. Re. 1.

This brochure of Mr. Gadgil is the first of a series of studies to be issued by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona. In this booklet a survey of the evolution of salaries of Civil Servants in India has been attempted. Mr. Gadgil makes a forceful plea for a radical reform of the scales of salaries because of financial and other considerations.

The universal depression has been responsible for deficit budgets both in the Central Government and in the Provinces, for some years. Apart from this the author feels that the impending change in the government and the probability of the cessation of recruitment from abroad give the best opportunity for the consideration of this question in all its bearings. He divides the subject for discussion into two main parts, viz., 1. the salaries obtaining at present and their evolution in the past (2) the principles that should govern salaries in the future.

In the first part the author reviews the report of Mr. Ricket (1858) of the Public Services Commission under Sir C. Aitchison (1886), the Royal Commission on Public Services in India (1912) and of the Lee Commission. He points out how the high salaries to English officials were first justified on grounds of distance, climate, lack of social amenities, etc.; it was then contended that expenditure could be reduced by

Indianisation and Provincialisation. Even though this was effected later on, no saving was actually effected. The various provincial retrenchment committees recognised this fact but failed to remedy the evil which in the opinion of the author, is due to the fact that investigation of this question has begun from the wrong end. Adjustment should start from a study of the methods of life and standards of living of the large mass of the people and not from the inflated imperial salaries. This view is supported by such eminent writers as Sir Charles A. Elliot who points out that India is the poorest country in the world and yet that the provincial service scales are higher than those of most of the highest posts in the Foreign Governments.

With the help of statistics Mr. Gadgil, proves that in Great Britain, Canada, U. S. A., South Africa and in most other countries a certain relation exists between the earnings of the working classes and those of the salaried and professional classes; while in India, there is a vast gulf separating these grades. No effort should be spared to bridge this gulf and if our financial house is to be put in order a radical re-adjustment of salaries is an imperative necessity.

This is a scholarly presentment of an interesting subject of no little public importance.

B. V. NARAYANASWAMY.

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*Swaramelakalanidhi*.—By Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar. Published by Annamalai University. Pages 132. Price Rs. 2|-

To bring out the standard works of the old masters on any subject of interest to Society is a laudable service. The South Indian Music is not merely of abiding interest to all lovers of Indian Arts and Culture, but is a branch of Indian Culture that has been hitherto considered to have attracted no great literature worthy of note within the historic times. To ferret out and publish a work like "*Swaramelakalanidhi*" with the correct original Sanskrit texts and an accurate English translation is therefore a patriotic work significant of the spirit of the times, and full of good augury for the future of our culture, especially as it appears to be only one of the many treatises on music that still await the earnest efforts of diligent workers in this field.

Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar deserves the warmest congratulations for his laudable labour of love. His critical introduction to the book reveals alike his fine, masterful study and his great acquaintance with the literature of the Carnatic Music. His love for this South Indian fine art is equalled by his learning in its lore.

Whether Sarangadev's aphorism that ever 'science should only follow art' is sound, and will hold water for all times, and will best conduce to the advancement of music is a matter on which there may be honest differences of opinion. But that this policy may be safely and efficiently worked within wise limits to marked advantage in practice has been more than amply proved by Ramamatya by pressing it to best service in this masterly work of his. His failure to follow up his labours by working inductively on all the available materials, and deducing definitely decisive principles for mela-divisions may be a regrettable fact to note. But he certainly did remarkable and considerable spade work to prepare the field for more industrious and synthetic successors by formulating the twenty melas and stating their intelligible characteristics. If he erred in underestimating and underclassifying the melas of the Carnatic Music in vogue in his time, surely his successors have erred on the other side by over-refining and over-classifying the same unduly into 72 theoretic melas which have no relation whatever to the practice or practicability of the modern music. It is only to be wished that later authors respected the wholesome policy enunciated by Sarangadev and elaborated by Ramamatya in the interest of sound musical practice, and moderated their zeal for more theorising and technical hair-splitting.

Anyway, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar did well in discussing all these aspects in lucid and luminous language to the common advantage of all students of the South Indian Music. Perhaps I can only add a wish that Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar adds to our debt by endeavouring to complete his labours by solving the puzzle he has himself found in reference to the patent mistake relating to the notes of 2 out of the 20 melas formulated by the author of "Swaramelakalanidhi." Obviously, there must be some mistake somewhere; and it should not be insoluble to a student of Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar's critical acumen. It is to be hoped with a little more industry he would unearth emendations or think out correct solutions to evolve the correct system and to present the same in its proper perspective.

The authorities of the Annamalai University have done well in encouraging its publication. They would earn the gratitude of all lovers of our culture by stimulating and seconding further efforts of scholars to enrich the literature of our part of the country both by bringing out all old standard and classic works, and also by producing original works of constructive science and creative art in touch with the life and progress of our people with a view to enrich, unfold, and develop their culture in all its manifold aspects and interests.

S. S. BHARATI.

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